

The Quarterly Review

JANUARY 1959

JOHN MURRAY
FIFTY ALBEMARLE STREET LONDON

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CONTENTS

The Decline of Eisenhower JOHN A. STEVENSON	1
Ten Years of Progress: The Record of the World Health Organization DR J. M. WATSON	14
Gore the Liberator THE VERY REV. DR E. G. SELWYN, D.D.	28
The Ideological Conflict: 1948-1958 THE REV. IAN THOMSON	39
Order in Church Unity ROBERT SENCOURT	52
King Ibn Saud and Captain Shakespear LT.-COL. J. D. LUNT	63
Richard Ford W. G. HOSKINS	73
Language DR F. H. GEORGE	84
1958— <i>Still a Turning-point?</i> SIR HAROLD WEBBE, C.B.E., M.P.	93
Book Reviews	106
<p>The Generalship of Alexander the Great—Culture and Society, 1780-1950— Garden Design—From East to West—Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge—Alfred Lord Milner—The Twilight of Imperial Russia—Islam and the Arabs—The Long Year—Haakon, King of Norway—The Reluctant Politician—Australian Accent—Everyman's Encyclopædia—The International Who's Who—My Brother and I—A Doctor in Parliament—Tristan and Iseult: An Epic Poem in Twelve Books—The Romantic Assertion, A Study of the Language of 19th Century Poetry—The Physicist's Conception of Nature— The Broken Compass: A Study of the Major Comedies of Ben Jonson— Christopher Columbus: The Mariner and the Man—Living Zen—The Small German Courts in the 18th Century.</p>	

East and West

'The battle of ideas is on,' the Prime Minister recently declared. Firmly, the West resists the pressures of the East. What are the ideas that animate the two great world groupings of the 20th century? How much do we understand the ideology of Russian Communism? And what ideology supports the free world?

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THE DECLINE OF EISENHOWER

THE White House at Washington, since it became the official residence of the Presidents of the United States, has harboured a rich variety of tenants. Some of them, like Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, the two Roosevelts, and Woodrow Wilson, have been what are called strong Presidents, who, using the immense authority conferred upon them by the constitution, gave the American people vigorous leadership, initiated policies designed to increase their nation's power and prosperity, sponsored reforms, and often made Congress bow to their will after bitter clashes with it. In contrast to this type of statesman there have been weak Presidents, like Pierce, Buchanan, Grant, Hayes, Harding, and Coolidge, who had neither the inclination nor ability to supply vigorous leadership and, being content to play passive rôles, left the main business of governing the country to Congress; and there has been an intermediate category of Presidents, whose place in history is midway between the strong and the weak.

When Dwight Eisenhower began his political career in 1951, there were high hopes that he would be enrolled in the roster of strong Presidents. As the successful generalissimo of the Allied forces of democracy in World War II, he was such a popular national hero that the voters of the United States gave him a majority in the electoral college which had only been exceeded by Franklin Roosevelt. It was an asset to him that up till 1950 his political allegiance had been so uncertain that President Truman had favoured his choice as the candidate of the Democratic Party for the Presidency, and the fact that he was the nominee of the liberal wing of the Republican Party won him the support of many disgruntled Democrats and independents. Moreover, during his long spells of military duty in Africa and Europe he had acquired a greater first-hand familiarity with international problems than any of his predecessors in the Presidency had possessed and he had also gained experience in the responsibilities of high command. So there was a widespread feeling that in him the United States had secured a national leader

who enjoyed international prestige and had a soul above petty partisanship in domestic politics.

His previous lack of interest in politics and in economic and social problems made him poorly equipped in other respects to hold the most important political office in the world and he had to learn the trade of politics by a process of trial and error. But he had the assets of a very attractive personality, a great aptitude for the arts of conciliation and compromise, and a partiality for progressive ideas and sensible reforms. This partiality often brought him into sharp conflict with the 'Old Guard' of the Republican Party, who could not forgive him for supplanting their hero, the late Senator Taft, and there is definite evidence that at one time he was so disgusted with its tactics that he contemplated the formation of a new central party. So he often had to rely upon the Democrats for the enactment of his legislation and it was usually forthcoming from at least their Southern leaders, whose views on many issues were in harmony with his own. In his first term of office certain of his deficiencies as a President were patent, but he ended it with such a large credit balance in his favour that in 1956 the American people renewed his mandate with an even larger majority than in 1952. They gave him credit for ending the war in Korea, averting an armed conflict over Indo-China, giving steady support to international organizations like the U.N.O. and N.A.T.O., preventing any serious reversal of the reforms of the 'New Deal,' and expanding the programme of social security. But a series of illnesses, which began in 1955, left him with his health considerably impaired, and it soon became plain that the Republican politicians, who had pressed him to accept a second nomination, had been unfair both to him and to the American people. He was quite honest in admitting publicly that the state of his health would impose limits upon his activities as President and it has been accepted by the public as a valid excuse for his numerous excursions from Washington to golf-courses or to his farm at Gettysburg; but the frequency of his absences from the capital has led to a charge by Democratic politicians that he is nowadays only a half-time President. He has shown an increasing disposition to evade clear-cut decisions about issues of major importance, he has resorted to compromises or half measures which please few people, and he has often shirked the

duty of giving to the American people the definite lead which would ensure popular support for his policies.

For a long time he enjoyed the backing of most of the Democratic members of Congress for his international policies, but they have been gradually alienated by his failure to recognize the obvious weaknesses of Mr Dulles as a Secretary of State and his almost universal unpopularity abroad, and on August 6 Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, who ranks as Number 2 Democrat on the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, served notice that bipartisan support of the administration's foreign policy was at an end by a sharp attack upon it in which he said as follows:

The truth is that our foreign policy is inadequate, outmoded, and misdirected. An aphorism which I heard the other day had some pertinence in this connection. A man may fail many times, the saying goes, but he is not really a failure until he starts blaming others. I suggest that this is true also of nations and is painfully descriptive of the United States at this point in history. Everything that is wrong is laid at the door of Communism. I suggest that some of the blame belongs closer at home.

The Soviet Union has indeed been our greatest menace, not so much because of what it has done as because of the excuse that it has provided for our failures.

One large factor in the continuing popularity of Eisenhower during his second term was a general confidence that his administration would in the international arena pursue policies which would assure the preservation of peace without sacrificing American interests, and that such an experienced soldier would always maintain defences adequate for the security of the United States. But this confidence has been waning steadily as the result of an accumulation of evidence that there has been a calamitous failure of American policy in the Middle East, where the country has an enormous stake in oilfields; that no progress has been made with the solution of such vital problems as the reunification of Germany; that the United States, despite its generous assistance to its allies and to backward countries, is thoroughly unpopular all over the world; and that there are grave weaknesses in the system of defence.

There was comparatively little opposition to the decision to intervene in co-operation with Britain with armed force for the stabilization of dangerous situations in Lebanon and Jordan, but a few months later the majority of intelligent Americans became gravely

perturbed when they realized that as the result of Dulles' addiction to what is now called 'Brinkmanship' their country had before it the alternative of backing down from the commitment of the President to defend the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu or of engaging without any effective allies in war with a combination of Communist China and Russia, in which nuclear weapons would certainly be employed.

The critics of the decision to defend the offshore islands could cite in support of their case against it the opinions of two of the highest military authorities in the United States. General Matthew B. Ridgway, who was in 1954 Chief of Staff in the United States army, in his memoirs, published a few years ago, revealed his complete disagreement with the advocates of American intervention both in Indo-China and for the defence of Quemoy and Matsu.

I have [he wrote] studied the map with care. Quemoy and Matsu are two small islands occupied by our friends, the Chinese Nationalists. They lie within artillery range of the Chinese mainland. They constitute to my thinking no more than listening posts of observation. They have little value as effective bases. Matsu would be useless in this respect and Quemoy not much better, for there is no military objective on the mainland that lies within 300 miles of them. If we were to go into China with ground forces, we would certainly not use Quemoy. Neither do the Reds need to have Quemoy for an invasion of Formosa—to go to war for Quemoy and Matsu would seem to me an unwarranted and tragic course to take.

Even more emphatic in his opposition to risking American lives for the defence of the offshore islands was a more famous soldier than General Ridgway, namely General Douglas MacArthur, who after his dismissal by President Truman was a prime favourite with the Republican Party. But a memorandum submitted to President Truman by Mr Averell Harriman, who had undertaken a mission to investigate and report upon the situation in the Far East, recorded a pronouncement of MacArthur that 'Quemoy has no value to the United States' and it also related that, when Harriman observed that Chiang-kai-shek had a burning ambition to use Formosa as a stepping-stone for his re-entry to the mainland, MacArthur's cynical comment on this aspiration was that 'he recognized that this ambition could not be fulfilled, but yet thought it might be a good idea to let him land and get rid of him in this way.'

The leaders of the Democrats were handicapped for a strong stand against the Far-Eastern policies of the Eisenhower administration, because ex-President Truman, still a powerful figure in the councils of his party, had recently given them his blessing, and in 1955 most of the Democratic Senators, succumbing to the plea that national unity must be preserved on this issue, had supported a resolution empowering the President to use armed force for the defence of Formosa if it was seriously threatened by the Communists. But these policies have been severely condemned not merely by Democratic papers like the *St Louis Post-Despatch*, but by influential papers sympathetic to the Republican Party. Among the latter the *Detroit Free Press* declared that the offshore islands were nothing on which Americans should 'stake their honor, let alone their lives' and suggested that Dulles should retire to his summer home on Duck Island and 'bore the birds' with his sermons. The *Des Moines Register* demanded 'more signs of a realistic approach to a sensible policy about China' and even the *Wall Street Journal* took a similar line. Furthermore, able independent columnists like Walter Lippmann and Joseph Alsop directed a steady barrage of informed criticism against the administration's foreign policy, and the former went so far as to demand the dismissal of Dulles on the ground that a fresher and less reactionary mind was needed at his post. So this evidence of mounting disapproval of Dulles' policy emboldened the Advisory Council of the Democratic Party, with Truman concurring, to urge in a manifesto published on Oct. 12 that the Cabinet should submit to U.N.O. the breach of the peace by Communist China in the Formosan Straits and ask that body to make recommendations designed to stabilize in Formosa and its vicinity a situation that would prevent aggressive action by either the China Communists or Nationalists and secure to the people of Formosa the right to determine their own future.

Undoubtedly a fear that popular anxiety over the danger that the commitments to Chiang-kai-shek would lead to war was telling against the Republican Party in the election, helped to induce Dulles to sanction the conference at Warsaw between the Ambassadors accredited to Poland by the United States and Communist China and to fly to Formosa, where apparently he informed Chiang-kai-shek that, while he would get American help to defend

Formosa, he must not count upon it for an invasion of the Chinese mainland, because it was regarded in Washington as a hopeless adventure, and advised him to reduce the size of his garrisons on Quemoy and Matsu. Meanwhile the bombardment of Quemoy by the Communists has become spasmodic and there is a growing impression that they have no intention of invading Formosa, because they think that time is on their side and that at no distant date a successful revolt of native Formosans and other malcontents against Chiang's régime will lead to the reincorporation of the island with China. But one result of their policy about the Far East is that the President and Dulles can no longer pose as zealous preservers of peace.

Eisenhower has also lost credit through his failure to tackle with sustained vigour the grave problems created by the unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court in 1954 which ordered racial integration in all public schools "with deliberate speed." It produced in the Southern states a situation, which worries both the political parties, because the Democrats are badly split on the issue of desegregation and both they and the Republicans have to take cognisance of the large coloured vote in certain Northern states. The President won the commendation of the supporters of integration and infuriated its opponents, when he sent Federal troops to uphold the Court's judgment by ensuring the admission of negro children to the Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. But when this firm exertion of Presidential power caused Governor Faubus of Arkansas and other political leaders in the South to organize a concerted resistance to the Court's decree, which made it a dead letter in at least ten states, months elapsed before the President or any member of his Cabinet made any serious effort, except through pious exhortations, to check this flagrant disobedience of the law. Indeed, a few months ago the President gave indirect encouragement to the 'diehard' segregationist by expressing publicly a wish that the Supreme Court had favoured a slower pace for desegregation, and he has never definitely stated that he believes in it.

The present situation is that in the so-called border states, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Oklahoma, good progress has been made with educational arrangements which conform to the decision of the Court and in

other matters relating to racial integration, but on the surface the 'massive resistance' which Senator Byrd, the reactionary Democrat whose political machine dominates Virginia, called for is being maintained in the group of states known as the 'Deep South.' There are, however, signs that cracks in the front of resistance are developing. In places where the authorities have closed schools rather than accept integration, many white parents dislike the alternative of leaving their children without education or paying fees for it in private schools, which are being organized; and in areas where the negro population is comparatively small, local pressure is being applied for the right of local option about desegregation. Already a certain degree of such option exists in North Carolina, and a group of whites in Charlottesville, Virginia, has formed an education committee to keep the public schools open; while in Norfolk in the same state the local association of high-school teachers, by a majority of about 6 to 1, has passed a resolution of protest against the closing of the high schools. If the demand for local option spreads, the right to it can hardly be denied in view of the Court's recent reaffirmation of its original judgment, and in that event the Southern 'diehards' will be fighting for a lost cause.

President Eisenhower also made a bad blunder in his attempt to save Mr Sherman Adams, the official in whom he reposed most confidence, from the consequences of his grave violations of the standards of morality prescribed for civil servants. A member of the well-known Adams family and a former Governor of New Hampshire, Mr Adams had been one of the earliest promoters of Eisenhower's candidacy for the Republican nomination for the Presidency and the leading manager of his electioneering strategy in 1952. His political ability and gratitude for his services moved Eisenhower, soon after he took office and reorganized his staff at the White House, to appoint Adams as his chief executive assistant and endow him with authority which had no precedent in Washington. He mastered rapidly the whole machinery of administration in the capital and, as the *fidus Achates* of the President, became a more powerful figure in the capital than any member of the Cabinet. But the frigidity of his manners and his inability to suffer fools gladly made him unpopular with the press and many politicians of both parties and earned him the nickname of the 'Great Stone Face.'

In his first campaign Eisenhower had supplemented his charges

that corruption and favouritism had been rife under the Truman administration with a firm pledge that, if elected, he would keep a Republican administration 'clean as a hound's tooth,' and it must have been a great shock to him, when the investigations of a Congressional committee revealed that Adams had accepted at intervals financial assistance and other forms of largesse from Bernard Goldfine, a textile manufacturer from New England, and in recompense for them had interceded for his benefactor when his business practices had involved him in trouble with the authorities at Washington. This exposure of Adams' action was naturally a juicy political morsel for the Democrats, and their demand for Adams' resignation or dismissal was supported by some Republican papers.

The President was in a very difficult quandary. His enfeebled health had led him to place enormous reliance upon Adams' judgement, and he himself had accepted from different individuals valuable gifts, mostly in the form of livestock and equipment for the farm which he had acquired at Gettysburg. He had also a very imperfect conception of the gravity of Adams' offences. So, arguing that, while Adams had been very indiscreet, he had been guilty of no real wrongdoing, he pleaded for leniency towards him on the grounds that 'I need him' and that he was 'the only man who knows what I am trying to do.' So he kept him at his post throughout the summer in face of a persistent fire of criticisms from the Democrats and warnings from Republican papers that Adams had outlived his usefulness and become a serious political liability.

Convincing proof of the liability was furnished in September, when the Congressional election in Maine—long a rockribbed Republican stronghold which has heretofore always voted before the other states—showed that the Democrats, making political capital out of the backslidings of Adams, had elected a Democratic senator for the first time since 1925 and captured two of the state's three seats in the House of Representatives, as well as the Governorship. Appalled by this result, the high command of Republican Party proceeded to force the resignation of Adams, but its effect was vitiated when the President in accepting the resignation praised 'his tireless and selfless devotion' and Adams in a nationwide broadcast complained that he had been the victim of a calculated and concerted effort to destroy him. So there was general agreement

with the verdict of the *Baltimore Sun* that 'ordinary people, regardless of party, expected something better from the central figures of the Eisenhower administration than the shoddy morality of this day and that they had been let down.'

The final session of the 85th Congress had a very impressive record of useful legislation, and since the Democratic Party was in control of both Houses, it could not have been achieved without their co-operation. The right wing of the Republican Party, led by Senator Knowland, was lukewarm and even actively hostile to certain measures sponsored by the Eisenhower administration, and, while the President exerted his powerful influence to secure adoption of the plan for the reorganization of the Pentagon by a co-ordination of the administrative machinery of the army, navy, and air force, and the renewal of his authority for negotiating reciprocal agreements about trade, a larger contribution to the satisfactory legislative harvest was made by the political skill and conciliatory tactics of the Democratic leaders in each House, Senator Lyndon Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn, who both hail from Texas, and naturally they exacted a price for their help in the form of concessions which brought various measures into reasonable accord with the principles and programmes of their own party.

The impact of the recession in business and the resulting increase of unemployment impelled Congress to sanction a considerable amount of 'pump-priming' for the stimulation of economic activity through the provision of generous additional funds for housing and public works such as the Federal programme of highways. A further stimulus came from heavier outlays for defence, and Congress was so dissatisfied with the adequacy of the administration's proposals that it raised the appropriations for defence by 815 million dollars to the staggering total of 41 billion dollars, and even this enormous sum was pronounced by Senator Symington, who was Secretary for Air in the Truman administration, as quite insufficient for coping effectively with the challenge of Russia and her allies. There was, as usual, a great deal of haggling and bickering over the vote for 'foreign aid': 3.9 billion dollars was the amount originally proposed by the administration, but the House of Representatives, conscious that the recession had made large expenditures on foreign aid unpopular with many voters, slashed this figure to 3.3 billion dollars. But this cut seemed too severe to a majority of the Senate, and,

after it gave approval to a total vote of 3·518 billion dollars, agreement was eventually reached at a conference between the two Houses to split the difference between their proposals.

Two important items in the legislative programme were the creation of a special agency for handling problems of space and for the reorganization of the Pentagon; the former is criticized on the ground that it leaves too much scope for interference by the military authorities, and the latter, because it fails to give the President a completely free hand to change the rôles and missions of the three branches of the armed forces. Alaska was admitted as the 49th state of the Union, but the grant of similar status to Hawaii was postponed.

The shock of Russia's Sputnik and the revelation of her progress in the development of ballistic missiles helped to secure a revision of the McMahon Act, which authorizes almost full co-operation with Britain in the production of nuclear weapons, and sanction was given for the United States to become associated with the European Atomic Community in the development of nuclear power. The stiff resistance of high protectionist elements had to be overcome before the authority of the President to reduce in the negotiation of reciprocal trade treaties by 20 per cent. was renewed for four years, but a measure for greater Federal aid to education failed by a narrow margin and Eisenhower was blamed for not applying pressure upon his own supporters to secure its passage. However, both parties with their eyes on the approaching election concurred in a generous enlargement of benefits payable under the programme of social security, and, since a shrinkage in the yield of the revenues has been visible, a budgetary deficit as high as 4·3 billion dollars, a figure which has only been exceeded during years of war, is forecast for the current fiscal year and the ceiling authorized by Congress for the national debt has been raised to 286 million dollars.

The Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party have been severely criticized by their opponents for showing apathy towards the recession and its hardships for many workers, but the signs of recovery from the slump, which are now apparent, seem to justify the contention of the Republicans that it was merely a halt in the march of economic expansion for the purpose of beneficial readjustments and did not demand drastic intervention by the Federal Government. The downward trend of the recession was

faster and sharper in its impact than in the case of two earlier post-war setbacks, but the upturn from it has come earlier. Yet there is a curious anomaly in the present position of the economy of the United States, because, whereas in recent months there has been a steady increase in the value of gross national production, the figures about unemployment remain high, even higher than a year ago in many areas. One explanation offered for this curious situation is that the less-efficient workers are holding out for higher wages than are being offered to them and are managing to subsist upon payments from unemployment insurance and other forms of public relief, and another is that industrial executives have reorganized their manufacturing programmes by redesigning their products on trimmer lines, improving their fabricating machines, simplifying and streamlining the handling of raw materials and finished goods, reducing costs of packaging, and making a more systematic appraisal of the capacity of employees for their jobs. These changes have made superfluous a proportion of the labour force which was formerly employed, and the additional investment of capital, which has been involved by them, is justified on the ground that it will assure greater stability for the industries affected by the changes and the whole national economy.

Furthermore both the industrial and distributive sectors of the American economy are feeling the effects of changes in the habits of consumers. Housewives, who are the chief controllers of purchasing power in shops, while they are spending a little more than they were a few years ago, are now making their purchases on a more selective basis with a resolve to get better value for their money. Having discovered that it can be secured by buying articles of tested durability, they are giving a preference to such goods over articles for which in many cases quick obsolescence is deliberately planned. Furthermore, the tribulations of the motor manufacturing corporations, which, as the result of a growing partiality of the American public for small cars of European origin, have produced in Detroit an abnormal volume of unemployment, are one piece of evidence that a large number of Americans are being weaned away from what Thorsten Veblen, the economist, called 'conspicuous expenditures' for the purpose of gaining social prestige. For these reasons a recent survey of the national economy made in Washington

reached the conclusion that American industry was emerging from the recession 'leaner and more competitive than before.'

The hope of the strategists of the Republican Party was that Eisenhower, despite the numerous black marks on his record, still enjoyed such personal popularity with the American people that his intervention in the campaign would check the swing to the Democrats which Gallup polls indicated. When the non-political tone of his initial speeches and his plea that foreign policy should be kept out of partisan debate produced a clash of viewpoint with Vice-President Nixon, he foolishly adopted the rabidly aggressive tactics of the latter and made charges that the Democratic Party was so dominated by radicals and socialists that, if given power, it would ruin the country. But the small attendance at some of his meetings revealed that he had lost the confidence of a multitude of former admirers and the polls proved that there was a widespread determination to repudiate the policies prescribed by him and Dulles for the country. The Democrats with a net gain of 13 seats now have a majority of 62 to 34 in the Senate and in the House of Representatives they have raised their strength from 235 to 282 against Republicans 183. For the rest of his term Eisenhower as a 'lame duck President' will be unenviable, as after his violent attacks upon the Democratic Party, now in overwhelming control of both Houses, he cannot expect much co-operation for his policies, and he seems fated to the same unhappy end to his distinguished career as befell another famous soldier who turned politician, General U. S. Grant.

The main issues in the election were unemployment, foreign policy, and the programme of support for farm prices, but local issues bulked large in many contests. In the industrial states a 'right of work' measure, which aimed to make closed union shops illegal, so antagonized the labour unions that they mobilized their votes almost solidly for Democratic candidates and in most of a group of states in which plebiscites on the issue were held the proposal was decisively rejected.

The election has brought some very able recruits, particularly in the Senate, to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and the brake which the reactionary southern Democrats have persistently applied against the adoption of progressive policies for the party will hereafter be much less effective. The way also has been paved

for the nomination of a liberal Democrat for the presidency in 1960, and since aspirants for it like Senator Humphrey of Minnesota and Governor Williams of Michigan are rated too radical and moderates like Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator Symington of Missouri have each certain disabilities, the hopes of the still numerous partisans of Adlai Stevenson for his election have revived.

The only real crumb of comfort for the Republican Party was the capture of the Governorship of the State of New York from its occupant Averell Harriman, by Nelson Rockefeller, a grandson of the founder of the Standard Oil Co. Rockefeller was helped to his surprising victory in a Democratic year by his pointed refusal to be associated with Nixon and his tactics and his rejection of most of the policies of his Party's Old Guard, and it made him immediately a formidable challenger to the strong claims for the Republican nomination for the presidency which Nixon had staked out for himself. The partisan violence of many of Nixon's speeches during the campaign caused many people to endorse the jibe of Mr Truman, who said, 'The Republican papers say that Nixon has reformed. I don't believe it.' Furthermore, the landslide for the Democrats in California, in which another aspirant for the presidency, Senator Knowland, was badly defeated, was another blow to Nixon, as a politician who cannot control his own state is considered a poor candidate for the presidency. An interesting result in Virginia, where a relatively unknown woman who favoured desegregation polled one third as many votes as Senator Byrd, the Democratic boss of the state, showed a softening of Southern sentiment on the issue.

The election proved clearly that a strong tide of liberalism is at present flowing in the United States and that a great majority of the voters were intent upon punishing Eisenhower for the failure of his half-hearted efforts to liberalize the Republican Party, and it will have to make a fresh start under better leadership.

J. A. STEVENSON

TEN YEARS OF PROGRESS

The Record of the World Health Organization

SINCE the dawn of time the sinister forces of disease have exerted their ruthless effects on mankind, sparing neither youth nor intelligence nor beauty. Ceaselessly, from the dawn of the most ancient civilizations, mankind has warred against these forces, first in attempts to relieve individual suffering and later in the effort to protect the community as a whole. This century has seen notable advances in medicine and surgery, but in the last decade new hopes of victory over disease have enlightened the struggle, hopes which would have seemed fantastic only fifty years ago. For the year 1958 marks the tenth anniversary of the creation of the World Health Organization, which has chosen as its goal 'the attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health.'

The conquest of disease was for long impeded by lack of co-operation between different communities. The first co-ordinated efforts took place during the Middle Ages, when attempts were made to prevent the spread of plague and cholera by isolating infected towns and villages, establishing quarantine stations, refusing to allow ships with sick persons on board to dock, and exacting the death penalty for offences against these regulations.

Internal public health in the modern sense, however, did not have its origin until just over a century ago, when the first International Sanitary Conference opened in Paris on July 23, 1851. Its task was to attempt to establish international regulations for the protection of populations against epidemic pestilence; but its efforts were rendered nugatory by the failure of the governments concerned to give effective ratification to its findings.

In the first half-century of public health work progress was very slow, owing in part to limited knowledge of the cause of disease and in part to the restriction of objectives to the protection of Europe against pestilence while avoiding unnecessary restrictions on trade and transport.

In the second half-century, however, progress from the first was much more rapid. The discovery, at the end of the nineteenth

century, of the mode of transmission of the major pestilential diseases—plague, cholera, and yellow fever, and of means of preventing them, paved the way for greater international co-operation in the field of public health. The turning-point was the first of the International Sanitary Conferences to be held in the twentieth century, which was marked by the suggestion of the French delegation that a permanent international health office should be established. This proposal bore fruit, four years later, in the creation in Paris of the O.I.H.P. (Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique) with a full-time permanent staff. Meanwhile the republics of the Americas had already united in 1902 to establish a permanent health office, the International Sanitary Bureau, which later, in 1923, changed its name to the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau. The original task of these two bodies, one in the Old World and one in the New, was to disseminate to member-states information of public health interest; to suggest measures to combat pestilence; and to ensure the effective application of the international sanitary conventions. From their earliest inception, however, both bodies initiated the investigation of a much wider range of public health problems, including prevention of many other communicable diseases (malaria, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, and hookworm infection), good hygiene, construction and management of hospitals, hygiene of schools and factories, and biological standardization.

A considerable rôle was played at this time and subsequently by the Rockefeller Foundation, which carried out world-wide programmes directed against such endemic infections as hookworm disease; financed the establishment of hospitals, medical schools, and research institutions; and undertook measures to raise the standard of rural hygiene.

The first expression of a still wider concept of international public health work was given shortly after the termination of hostilities, in 1919, when the President of the Permanent Committee of O.I.H.P. announced that international quarantine and the concept of erecting barriers against disease were obsolete scientific superstitions and that hope for the future lay in circumscription and obliteration of endemic foci of communicable disease; that health measures must be adapted to local circumstances; and that education of the masses in health matters must be undertaken in order to ensure their understanding of and co-operation in the

measures taken. But some thirty years were to elapse before these revolutionary ideas were put into effect.

Meanwhile, the disruption of life in Eastern Europe resulting from the First World War was followed by epidemics of typhus, cholera, and influenza; and these, in turn, led to the creation by the League of Nations first of an Epidemic Commission and subsequently of an international health organization (H.O.L.N.), which worked in close co-operation with O.I.H.P. and P.A.S.B.

When the tide of epidemics receded H.O.L.N. turned its attention to other major disease problems, such as malaria and cancer, and to studies on housing, nutrition, and the standardization of therapeutic substances.

The culminating development in the evolution of international public health took place at San Francisco in 1945, when the Brazilian delegation to the United Nations Conference proposed that health should be included in the United Nations Charter as one of the vital factors essential for world peace. Action was taken promptly. Early in the following year a Preparatory Commission met and paved the way for an International Health Conference which convened in New York in June 1946, and to which were invited not only member and non-member states of the United Nations but also representatives of all specialized agencies of international character having an interest in health. The result was the setting up of an International Commission to make preparations for and convoke the first session of the World Health Assembly and to carry on those essential tasks of international health which would not brook interruption or delay. The Commission gradually absorbed the existing international health bodies (O.I.H.P., H.O.L.N., and U.N.R.R.A. Health Division) and took over their functions.

In April 1948 sufficient countries had ratified their membership to enable W.H.O. to come into official existence and, accordingly, in June of that year the World Health Assembly convened for the first time. The appropriate place of meeting was the Palais des Nations, Geneva. Fifty-five member states were represented at the meeting.

At the Special Session of the World Health Assembly held in Minneapolis last year at the invitation of the United States Government to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the World Health

Organization (W.H.O.), no less than eighty-eight member states were represented together with observers from non-member states and representatives of other international health organizations.

W.H.O. is financed by the contributions of the member states, from which it derives its authority. U.N.R.R.A. also makes a substantial contribution. In the first year of its existence the total sum available was \$3,353,534; but by 1957 this had risen to \$18,425,093. Detailed proposals for the expenditure of this money are approved annually by the World Health Assembly. Approximately 90 per cent. of the total budget is applied to the operating programmes (maintenance of central technical services, advisory services, regional offices and expert committees); 8 per cent. is needed to finance the administrative services; and 2 per cent. is applied to organizational meetings (including the World Health Assembly, the Executive Board, and the Regional Committees).

The work of W.H.O. is directed and co-ordinated from its headquarters at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. In order to make this work more effective the world has been divided for health purposes into six major regions, namely, Africa, with a regional office at Brazzaville; the Americas, for which the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau in Washington acts as regional office; South-East Asia, with a regional office in New Delhi; Europe, with a regional office in Copenhagen; the Eastern Mediterranean, with a regional office in Alexandria; and the Western Pacific, with a regional office in Manila.

The member countries in each region put forward requests for assistance with those health problems in which they feel that international aid is required. These requests, after approval and integration by the Regional offices, are forwarded to headquarters in Geneva. Here all the regional proposals are annually co-ordinated into a single programme and the budget required for its implementation is estimated. Following scrutiny and review by the Executive Board of W.H.O. the programme and budget are submitted to the representatives of member states meeting in plenary session at the annual World Health Assembly for approval.

In the preparation of the programme five general principles are taken into account, namely:

- (1) that all countries shall take part in the work;
- (2) that services shall be freely available to all member states;

- (3) that aid to a government shall only be supplied at its own request;
- (4) that the help given shall not only be adapted to local conditions but shall also be designed to promote national and local self-reliance and initiative; and
- (5) that aid to research shall be limited to stimulation and co-ordination of current efforts.

The World Health Assembly, which elects its own president at the beginning of each session, meets once a year, generally in Geneva, to give representatives of member states the opportunity of discussing and criticizing the work of the organization. The work of the Assembly is guided by the Executive Board, composed of eighteen international health experts designated by, but not representatives of, their governments. This Board regulates all the programmes and finance of the organization, advises and submits proposals to the Assembly, and takes action in emergency.

The chief technical and administrative officer of W.H.O. is the Director-General, who is responsible to the Executive Board, and through it to the World Health Assembly, for all the activities of the organization. The day-to-day work, both technical and administrative, is carried out by a Secretariat composed of about 850 international officials belonging to over fifty different nationalities. Approximately half of this staff is stationed at headquarters in Geneva, while the remainder are distributed among the regional offices. In addition, about 150 technical officials on the regular budget are engaged in field projects in various countries. Considerable staff expansion has been made possible by the aid of funds from the United Nations programme of Technical Assistance for Economic Development, and a further 450 specialists, mainly engaged in field projects, are employed by W.H.O. on this account.

On the technical side the staff includes not only medical and scientific officers, but also public health engineers, health educators, veterinarians, statisticians and technicians; while on the administrative side it comprises legal, financial, information and liaison officers, as well as translators, interpreters and library staff.

The activities of W.H.O. fall into two distinct categories, namely: (1) the Central Technical Services, many of which were taken over from the earlier international health organizations and have since

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been developed and expanded; and (2) the Advisory Services, which represent a new departure in international health work. The Central Technical Services collect and disseminate epidemiological intelligence, unify international quarantine regulations, register and analyse world health statistics, encourage adoption of international standards for therapeutic substances, and produce technical and popular health publications. The Advisory Services carry on the actual fight against disease and against economic and social factors and environmental conditions conducive to ill-health. Their sphere of action includes control of communicable diseases, strengthening of public health services, elimination of malnutrition, maternal and child health work, improvement of sanitation and of preventive and curative medical services, and promotion of mental health in order to foster harmonious human relations. They are further concerned with facilitating exchange of scientific information and promoting training of health personnel at all levels. In the execution of its advisory programmes W.H.O. works in close co-operation with over forty non-governmental or inter-governmental organizations, among which may be mentioned I.L.O., F.A.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., U.N.I.C.E.F., U.N.R.W.A., I.A.E.A. and the Red Cross.¹

Although W.H.O. inherited from its predecessors the backbone of the Central Technical Services, there was no existing mechanism for rendering aid to particular countries or for solving the many and complex health problems which faced the organization. Thus the Advisory Services had to be developed.

The work of the Advisory Services is based on a number of administrative and technical units known as 'projects'. When a country requests aid in connection with a particular problem, the organization recruits a suitable expert or team, briefs them on the purpose of the project, the conditions in the relevant region or country, and the necessary administrative and technical procedures and despatches them to the scene of action. This international staff, assisted by local personnel, determines the course of the project in accordance with local needs and environmental and epidemiological conditions. Reports to headquarters in Geneva and to the govern-

¹ I.L.O.: International Labour Office. F.A.O.: Food and Agriculture Organization. U.N.E.S.C.O.: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. U.N.I.C.E.F.: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. U.N.R.W.A.: United Nations Relief and Welfare Association. I.A.E.A.: International Atomic Energy Agency.

ment in question acquaint them with the progress of the work. When the international staff is withdrawn the local services continue or extend the work so that it becomes an integral part of the national health services. During the last ten years over 800 projects in more than a hundred countries and territories have been initiated.

Another functional unit of which the organization has made much use is the scientific or technical meeting, ranging from a small committee of a few selected specialists (the expert committee or study-group) to large conferences attended by many people of varied experience.

Technical information and guidance in both the formulation of policy and the execution of the organization's programme is supplied by a system of Expert Advisory Panels which constitute the third type of functional unit in the structure of W.H.O. These panels, of which there are now thirty-six, covering various specialist fields of health work, include many of the world's leading medical scientists and health administrators. Their views and recommendations, in the form of committee reports or individual opinions, are rendered to headquarters both voluntarily and on request.

Increase of knowledge and stimulation of research in the fields of health and medicine is a cardinal function of W.H.O. The organization does not normally operate its own research institutions but makes use of existing national centres and laboratories. Co-ordination and co-operation between individual research workers and teams operating in universities, institutions, and hospitals throughout the world have been established, and networks for investigation, reference, and exchange of information have been thus created. The organization further assists by facilitating exchange of workers and by providing essential supplies to research laboratories. Some of this work, such as that on biological standardization, epidemiology, health statistics, and nutrition, continues programmes that originated in the time of the League of Nations or earlier. Other work, such as that on influenza and poliomyelitis viruses, on the ecology of disease-transmitting snails, on resistance to insecticides, and on the dangerous effects of radiation, has been undertaken to meet newer problems.

The backbone of international health activities, beneficial to all countries in equal degree, is provided by the Central Technical Services of W.H.O. Of these, undoubtedly the most familiar are the

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international quarantine and epidemiological intelligence services, which achieved a major accomplishment in 1952 with the adoption of international sanitary regulations applicable to land, sea, and air traffic throughout the world.

The accurate evaluation of health problems is an important aim of international health work which can only be satisfactorily carried out by the painstaking accumulation of statistical information. The Health Statistics Section of W.H.O. collects and analyses the figures relating to notification of disease, causes of death, and other fields of public health work; and issues periodical reports.

Another task carried out by the Central Technical Services concerns drugs and therapeutic substances. A system of international standards and non-proprietary names for medicaments is in process of establishment. In 1951 appeared the first volume and in 1955 the second volume of the first *Pharmacopeia Internationalis*. This work is regularly brought up to date by the issue of supplements. International biological standards are also being developed for such substances as hormones, vitamins, antitoxins and antisera, vaccines and antibiotics. Further, W.H.O. participates in international efforts to prevent the abuse of narcotic drugs and to repress traffic in them.

Central Technical Services also advise on the establishment and organization of public health laboratories and on the simplification and standardization of health laboratory methods, especially diagnostic techniques. International centres for the study of blood groups, of enteric bacteria, and of the histopathology of cancer have been set up.

A new and important aspect of W.H.O. work is the investigation of health problems arising from the use of atomic energy. Development of this source of power may lead to increase in the amount of background radiation and to pollution of air, soil, and water with radioactive wastes. Radiation is known to have deleterious genetical effects upon man. W.H.O. is therefore actively engaged in discovering ways and means by which governments and public health services, in co-operation with the atomic energy industry, can provide protection against these dangers. It has happened many times in the past that forms of progress designed to improve living conditions have involved harm to the health of the people they were aimed to help, for example, the contamination of rivers by industrial wastes, the pollution of the atmosphere of great cities by

smoke, and the spread and increase of schistosomiasis in the Nile Valley and elsewhere following the introduction of perennial irrigation. W.H.O. is determined that no such harmful effects shall follow the peaceful application of atomic energy to the betterment of human life.

Not least important of the Central Technical Services is the work carried out on the documentation of health and disease. W.H.O. produces a number of publications both regular and occasional. Some of these are technical journals or reports embodying the results of clinical, laboratory, or field investigations, statistical surveys, or the findings of study groups. Others are more popular in nature, designed to keep the lay public informed of the activities of W.H.O. and the progress of international health work.

The scope of the Advisory Services of W.H.O. is very extensive. But first and foremost rank the efforts which are being made against all forms of communicable disease. Chief among these maladies are malaria, the venereal diseases, and tuberculosis.

Not less than one quarter of the inhabitants of the earth live in areas where malaria is rife. Until recently many fertile zones were barren since their populations were chronically too ill to work. In 1955, however, W.H.O. embarked upon a world-wide eradication campaign, with the result that now this disease is retreating everywhere and its complete elimination from the face of the globe within the foreseeable future is a concrete possibility. New and better curative drugs are being used in mass treatment. More effective insecticides are being utilized against the mosquitoes that transmit the infection. Every resource is being thrown into the battle, which has become a race against time, since the vector mosquitoes must be wiped out before strains develop which are resistant to the chemicals used to kill them.

Tuberculosis is still a major public health problem in most of the more developed countries; but it is retreating before mass BCG vaccination campaigns and the application of new forms of chemotherapy. The W.H.O. Tuberculosis Research Office in Copenhagen is working to develop still more effective and practical measures against the disease.

Syphilis and those related tropical diseases—bejel, yaws, and pinta—are being eliminated by mass treatment with penicillin, a

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weapon of proved value against these debilitating and crippling infections.

Ten years ago the control of virus diseases was little understood, despite the availability of highly effective vaccines against two of them, yellow fever and smallpox. High priority was therefore given by W.H.O. to the training of virologists and the investigation of virus problems. The result to-day is that great progress has been made in the control of poliomyelitis, influenza, and hepatitis.

Another group of communicable diseases in the control of which much progress has been made are the zoonoses—diseases naturally transmissible between animals and man. With the exception of rabies, that most feared of all infections, of which dogs are the principal reservoir and which may therefore attack at random, these diseases principally affect agricultural workers who are much in contact with the reservoir hosts—cattle, sheep, and goats. Brucellosis, hydatid disease, Q fever, and bovine tuberculosis all cause physical suffering and reduced capacity for work in man and losses from reduced production and breeding efficiency in diseased stock. Control in these cases has involved not only co-ordinated epidemiological research and development of new vaccines and methods of treatment but also international emphasis on meat and milk hygiene and on general veterinary public health.

International efforts are also being directed against a number of predominantly tropical infections such as sleeping sickness, schistosomiasis, filariasis, leprosy, trachoma, and typhoid fever. Research has been speeded up to find more efficient drugs, and mass treatment has been introduced in endemic areas. Investigations are being carried on to improve control of the tsetse flies which transmit sleeping-sickness, the black flies, deer flies, and mosquitoes which transmit the more serious filariases, and the water-snails which transmit schistosomiasis. Ways are being devised to prevent the further spread of schistosomiasis which is liable to occur in connection with new schemes of perennial irrigation.

The scope of the war which W.H.O. is waging against these and the many other communicable diseases which take so heavy a toll of humanity in suffering and economic damage is immense. Maladies such as trachoma affect not less than one quarter of the population of the world. Mass therapy campaigns against this disease alone will eventually involve the treatment of 400 million

people. In all cases the general plan of attack is the same—stimulation and co-ordination of research in field and laboratory throughout the world; despatch of expert consultants to the affected areas to survey the problem; determination of suitable measures; and despatch of epidemiologists and clinical experts, not only to direct and supervise the application of these measures in field and in treatment centres respectively, but also to ensure adequate training of local personnel who will carry on the work when the W.H.O. teams leave.

High priority is given to improvement of the basic conditions of public health, particularly in rural areas of under-developed countries. Environmental sanitation—the adjustment of the environment for the prevention of disease—deals with disposal of waste of all kinds; provision of pure water supplies and supplies of pure milk and other foods; control and eradication of insects, water-snails, rats, mice, and other carriers of disease; establishment of satisfactory housing conditions, both urban and rural; and protection of the individual against contamination and lack of sanitation.

Another fundamental condition of health is the availability of enough food of the right kind for all members of the world's population. Famine and deficiency diseases have always taken a heavier toll of human life than war; and undernourishment and malnutrition are still responsible for much of the world's ill-health. W.H.O. collaborates closely with F.A.O. in efforts to procure avoidance of protein deficiency, especially in infants after weaning; and establishment by education of correct dietary habits.

The health of a population can be reliably assessed by considering the death-rates of children and of women in childbirth. If these are high the fact reflects general insanitary conditions in the community, malnutrition, and a high prevalence of communicable diseases. W.H.O. has therefore been particularly active in its efforts to improve maternal and child health by training pediatricians, nurses, and midwives; by establishing centres for advice and treatment; by studying the problems of physically handicapped children; by assisting in the care of premature infants; and in other ways.

Social and occupational health problems receive much attention. Close co-operation with I.L.O. is maintained in such fields as the

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establishment of industrial health services, the organization of health services for seafarers, and the rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons.

Nor has mental health been neglected. Not only is it the aim of W.H.O. to integrate mental health into public health programmes, but the organization also believes that attention to minor psychological disorders in children will lessen the amount of serious mental illness in later life. Major effort has therefore been devoted to training and research in the fields of mental health, psychiatry, and psychiatric nursing, with special emphasis on juvenile delinquency and other aspects of the care of youth.

In public health, as in other fields of human endeavour, little can be achieved without efficient organization. Investigation of public health needs and of facilities available to meet them, co-ordination of the work of various types of health and medical services in different countries and throughout the world, and counsel regarding the most efficient methods of organizing preventive and curative medical work are all an integral part of W.H.O. activities.

No form of health service, however well organized, can achieve its objectives if not adequately staffed. Doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, midwives, sanitary engineers, laboratory and other technicians are required in ever-increasing numbers. There is scarcely a member-state which does not suffer from a shortage in some or all of these categories, hence only exceptionally does a surplus exist available for employment in other countries. To step up education and training of all types of health personnel, one of the principal methods adopted has been to provide fellowships for advanced study abroad. No less than 6,000 such fellowships have been awarded to health personnel from 150 countries and territories. Other methods used are promotion of the establishment of schools of public health, medicine, and nursing; provision of experienced teachers and lecturers at such institutions; setting up of centres for training in particular medical specializations, such as anaesthesiology; and organization of study tours for public health administrators. Particular attention has been paid to the training of nurses.

But health services are ineffective unless public co-operation can be secured. It is the aim of health education to interest people in their health and living conditions and to show how these can be

improved by their own actions and efforts. The necessity of public education in health matters has been appreciated by W.H.O. since its inception. Health education in schools is being actively promoted by teacher training and by encouraging co-operation between health and education authorities. In all such programmes the economic status, beliefs, education, and cultural background of the groups concerned are taken into account. Every type of modern propaganda device is used—talks, lectures, pamphlets, posters, films and film-strips, radio and television.

Considering the relatively short period of its active existence, W.H.O. has a fine record of achievement. Ten years ago the health standards under which the majority of men, women, and children lived were appallingly low. It could hardly have been hoped then that they could be significantly raised within the space of one decade. But the speed of progress has outstripped all expectations. To-day, fewer people contract serious diseases, many fewer die from them, than ten years ago.

The many amazing medical discoveries which have been made during the last quarter of a century have at last been put at the service of all humanity. Age-old scourges such as typhoid fever, leprosy, malaria, venereal diseases, trachoma, and tuberculosis are in course of being banished by new therapeutic weapons. The study of nutrition and of hormones and vitamins has brought within sight the elimination of glandular and deficiency diseases. Psychosomatic medicine has made possible the relief of a vast group of sufferers who formerly had no hope. People at work, people at play, people at home, pregnant and nursing mothers, children at school, all now enjoy a watchful care for their health formerly unknown in the history of the world.

One of the most hopeful factors in the international situation to-day is the world-wide emergence of 'health-consciousness,' as evidenced by the willingness of so many nations to contribute their share to the cost of maintaining W.H.O. and by their readiness to co-operate in all its activities. Popular interest in public health, thus stimulated, has never been higher.

Not the least remarkable fact about the organization's history is the rapidity with which it passed through the early period of trial-and-error and established effective and acceptable methods of working.

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The future is bright with hope. We can now look forward with confidence to a time when most of the major diseases which affect mankind will have been banished from the surface of the globe, either by the better use of existing methods or by the discovery of new ones. The gap between countries with a high standard of public health and those with a low standard is being steadily narrowed in the right direction.

Moreover, experience within the organization, as within all the specialized agencies of the United Nations, has taught men of all nations to work peaceably together for the common good.

Yet to-morrow has its problems. The prevention and cure of certain diseases—cancer, diabetes, arthritis, rheumatism, influenza, poliomyelitis, cardiovascular affections, and certain types of mental disorders—are still insufficiently understood.

The increasing use of nuclear energy has introduced new health consequences.

Aircraft capable of supersonic speeds, atomic submarines able to remain submerged for weeks or even months at a time, and artificial satellites, perhaps soon to be manned, have introduced problems of human existence in conditions hitherto thought to have belonged to the realm of fictional fantasy. It is but a short step to the medical problems which will inevitably be associated with space travel.

Last, but by no means least, among the problems of the future is the possibility that the raising of health standards and the eradication of disease will result in so rapid a growth of world population that, despite the fact that better health means increased productivity, food supplies may not increase in proportion. This situation, which represents a real and imminent danger, is one which cannot be met by W.H.O. Responsibility for its solution rests with F.A.O., and success will depend in great measure on the degree to which member states accord their support and co-operation.

These problems will be solved. W.H.O. faces the future unafraid, confident that the second decade of its existence will bring forth even greater achievements than the first.

J. M. WATSON

GORE THE LIBERATOR¹

CHARLES GORE combined in his own person an unusual number of advantages and talents, social, intellectual, and individual. Born of blue blood on both sides, he was accustomed from childhood to meet some of the highest in the land; and his upbringing in Christian faith and worship and conduct at home was further nourished in his schooldays at Harrow, then under the great headmastership of Montague Butler aided by a staff which included men of the calibre of Edward Bowen and Brooke Foss Westcott. His Oxford days, first as scholar of Balliol and later as Fellow of Trinity and Principal of Pusey House, were those of Jowett and T. H. Green and Liddon and Father Benson of Cowley, and gave him too the close friendship of Scott Holland and of Edward Talbot, the first contributing encouragement, sympathy, daring, the second imparting wisdom and statesmanship and caution; it was a threefold cord which death alone was to break. And throughout it all was Gore's own mind—a mind in love with poetry and music and painting; alive with wit; passionate for truth and its inalienable rights, and deeply suffused with a profound compassion for the under-dog whether individually or in bulk. All these things Gore laid without reserve at the feet of Christ.

And I say advisedly 'of Christ.' For I recollect a sermon of his at Cambridge fifty years ago when he spoke at some length of 'Jesus-worship,' and whether it should be encouraged or not. He came down against it. It was a challenging sermon; but I think that Gore was right. He had in mind certain sentimental types of devotion to our Lord, both Catholic and Protestant, which he regarded as aberrations, in that they fell short of the whole truth about Him. They seemed to him to miss the lesson conveyed in the words which Jesus addressed to Mary Magdalene on the morning of the Resurrection, 'Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.' The words must have sounded in her ears with a certain harshness; yet they were necessary, for awe is an important element in our love for Him.

¹ Based on the Bishop Gore Memorial Lecture given in Westminster Abbey, November, 1958.

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Moreover, there is a further reason why we should think of Christ-worship rather than Jesus-worship. Not only did the Resurrection designate Jesus, in St Paul's words, as 'the Son of God with power'; but that identification is in fact the clue to understanding His earthly ministry, and not least His parables. The idea of a distinction and indeed contrast between the Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith, much discussed in the *Hibbert Journal* in the early years of this century, is no longer a feature of modern New Testament scholarship: the 'history' has become for some a myth, that is, a story without factual basis, but there are few now who would assert that the living Christ whom Christians worship and seek to follow is not identical with Him who is the central figure of the Gospel narratives. The Gospels were written and their testimony must be interpreted in the light of what the Church quickly came to realize was the truth about Him, namely that He was the Son of God.

It was this devotion to Christ—this bringing of every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ (as St Paul puts it)—that gave to Charles Gore his immense appeal. He was not alone in those days in filling the University Church, whether at Oxford or at Cambridge, often at the uninviting hour of 2.15 on a Sunday afternoon, with overflowing congregations. Winnington Ingram did the same and so did Nevile Figgis, both of them typical of Gore's power of enlisting in the cause of one Church, one Faith, one Lord, men of most diverse gifts and temperaments. And they broke upon our lives, as he did, with a message of *liberation*. No doubt at the bottom of our hearts we wanted liberation from sin, some assurance that we could make sense of our lives and master ourselves and our weaknesses. But at what price? For, like St Peter in prison, we were bound with two chains, on the one hand Fear, on the other Muddle. On one side there was a militant agnosticism which told us that Christianity was nonsense and that no one who valued truth could any longer believe in it. To those who did value truth and regarded reason as the proper organ for ascertaining it, this was alarming. Were the apostles of agnosticism possibly right? We were aware that many men of unquestioned ability disagreed with them, but we did not know why; and like the modern soldier we felt that we had a right to know and without that knowledge could not fight successfully. On the other side Muddle—the voices of those who told us in all sincerity that we did not need to know: the intellect

had little to do with religion; we had better turn away from all these problems, and find in the practice of piety and the feelings it generated sufficient guidance for our lives. Thus agnosticism on the one side and emotionalism on the other seemed to hold us fast.

What Gore did was to set us free. Like Isaiah of old, he bade us lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes—bring our reasoning and critical faculties to bear on religion as on any other field of interest and let the basic truths and duties of the Christian Faith stand out clear and massive above the mists of doubt and sentiment. And he convinced us that it was possible to be at once Christian and rationalist. He told us often that on many issues we must be content to be agnostic; the lights that would guide our ship to port were few, but so bright as to be sufficient; the faint glimmers that we also saw or thought we saw were of no importance compared with those clear shining lights which the Church, working on experience, had established so that we could chart our course. There was challenge here to every fibre of mind and conscience. So far from closing our minds, we found that Christian dogma opened them; so far from blinding our consciences, it quickened them. It gave the vital clues to any understanding of God and the world and ourselves, for it summarized in brief and memorable form the revelation which God made of Himself and of Man in Christ, recorded for us in Scripture and verified in the lives of His saints, known and unknown, throughout the ages. We felt as St Paul felt in Frederic Myers' poem:

Whoso has felt the Spirit of the Highest
Cannot confound nor doubt Him nor deny
Yea with one voice. O world, tho' thou deniest,
Stand thou on that side, for on this am I.

Such a gospel, preached by such a man, was bound to be controversial; but it was the Lord's controversy, not his nor ours, in which Gore challenged us and the whole Church to take our part. The world was to be our oyster—not in the common acceptance of the term as meaning that there were no limits to ambition, but in the sense that there was nothing in man's literature and art, his philosophy and science, his achievements and failures, his desperate needs and sorrows, to which we should close our minds and hearts, nothing which we should not understand better in the light of Christ and of His Spirit. Were we members of the Church of England?

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Yes, but the Church into which we were baptized was the Catholic Church, which knew no boundaries of race and language; and the Faith which we professed was of no national origin but rested on the Word of God given in Scripture and verified in the experience of Christians of every age and clime. It was both supernatural (or, as Gore often preferred to say, 'supra-natural') and supra-national. Did we love the Bible? Yes, and none more than he. But for that very reason we must employ our best critical faculties and our fullest intelligence in our study of it. Gore's own essay in *Lux Mundi*—the great book of 1890 (and it is still a great book) of which he was the editor—is an example of this. Are we bound to adhere, in the face of most scholarly learning, to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch or the Davidic authorship of Psalm CX, because our Lord seemed to imply that it was so? Bishop Westcott, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, answered the question without hesitation. 'If you feel now that it was, to speak humanly, necessary that the Lord should speak of the "sun rising," it was no less necessary that He should use the names "Moses" and "David" as his contemporaries used them. There was no critical question at issue.' That answer seems to us obvious enough to-day; but it was far from obvious in 1890. Again, was the Church solely concerned with its own members and their private conduct? Or was the Gospel also a social Gospel, with a care for the wage-earner and the conditions in which he lived? Indeed the very fact of being an established Church, with a duty to the whole nation, seemed to give the answer yes. In a volume now published in the World Classics under the title *Lark Rise to Candleford*, Miss Flora Thompson gave a faithful and fascinating account of the social history of a remote rural area in the Midlands and of what it meant to live and bring up a family on a fixed wage of 10s. a week in the 1880s and early nineties. Conditions in the cities were in many cases even worse. Gore's sense of social justice, fostered originally by the teaching of the prophets and our Lord and nourished by F. D. Maurice and R. W. Church and Westcott, revolted against the situation. I well remember a sentence of his in a sermon. 'Mary sang a song—a song of revolution'; and how he drew the whole *Magnificat* into the orbit of his message.

The late Dr Prestige, to whose biography of Charles Gore anyone appointed to this Memorial Lectureship must acknowledge his debt,

writes: 'He was a Liberal Catholic whom a liberal mind and investigation had convinced of the truth of Catholicism; and in theology, even more than in politics, his proper label was not Liberal but Radical.' I think that that assessment is just. He was both Catholic and critical, and held the two in synthesis. The quality which he brought to all his main activities and interests—devotional, ecclesiastical, moral, and practical—was one which might be described as one of *theological integrity*: not mainly in the sense that he was manifestly honest, but in the deeper sense that his thinking and speaking and doing in each of these spheres were all governed by his theology. The man who in a five minutes' speech roused a Conference of the Workers' Educational Association in 1910 to a white heat of enthusiasm and an applause which lasted longer than the speech itself was the same man as had given the famous Bampton nearly twenty years before. The man whose first big book, *The Church and the Ministry*, finished in 1888 when the author was only thirty-five, seemed to many to tie him down to a rigid conception of episcopacy, was to receive over twenty years later at the hands of the city of Birmingham, a stronghold of Free Churchmen, the rare honour of having his statue erected near the Cathedral in his lifetime, and was to number among his best friends the great Congregationalist divine Dr Dale. His readiness to work with men of other faiths or of none in causes for which he and they cared with equal sincerity was a feature of every phase of his public life.

Yet no one ever thought for a moment that Gore was prepared to compromise his principles. On the contrary, one cannot doubt that his continuous insistence on the supernatural character of the Christian religion was one of the main secrets of his success. Dogma, miracle, sacraments, conduct—Gore made these things cohere as the outward sign of a divine revelation, power, and grace. His Bampton Lectures of 1891, entitled *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, are steeped in the idea. Thus, the second lecture is called 'Christ Supernatural yet Natural,' the third 'The Supernatural Christ Historical,' the fourth 'The Christ of Dogma the Christ of Scripture.' In all this he drew not only on his profound study of the New Testament and the Fathers; it was also the teaching of our own greatest divines, of Bishop Butler in the eighteenth century and Mozley and Church and Westcott in the nineteenth: as the last-named observed, 'Miracle is of the essence of Christianity.' He saw

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the whole story of the Bible from the Creation onwards reaching its fulfilment in the Christ, the Incarnate son, and in the out-pouring of His Spirit to create, sustain, and illuminate the Church; and he set himself to defend and to expound this Faith in relation to the thought and critical methods of his day. Yet for all that I do not think that the Lectures can be said to 'date.' In style their succinctness and trenchancy are surprisingly modern; in substance they deal with objections and problems which are with us still. For it is still the case that Theism, which is the basis of Christian belief, requires for its justification in face of the universality of sin and evil some such revealing and redemptive acts as the Incarnation involves; still the case that if the Gospel story stopped short of the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ we should be confronted with yet one more example of the triumph of human injustice in the world and therefore of the futility of faith; and that if there were no Holy Spirit and no Church to help us to the duties of our calling, our religion would be little more than escapism, a system of rites and ceremonies comforting to the emotions of some, but without intellectual content or moral power.

Again, there is miracle. Gore defined miracle as 'an event in physical nature which makes unmistakably plain the power and direct action of God working for a moral end'; and the definition is a good one. But this is a subject on which the climate of opinion has changed since his day. At the end of the nineteenth century educated thought was still governed by the rationalism fostered by the progress of science and its great postulate the uniformity of nature; and Matthew Arnold's *dictum*, 'Miracles do not happen,' seemed to many to sum up the matter. But that is not the only attitude of mind which Christianity has encountered; for there have been other ages in its long history when miracles presented no difficulty to most minds because thaumaturgy was so widespread and credulity so fashionable. I think that our present generation falls into this second category. We live in an age of thaumaturgy, and the wonder-workers are scientists and engineers. Moreover, this is a more difficult climate for Christianity to live in than the other. So much that is novel has occurred that it seems as though anything might happen; and the raw instinct of wonder is stimulated on every side. Yet raw works of wonder have little to do with miracle as the

Christian faith conceives it.¹ They are works of man, not of God: they tickle man's love of what is novel and sensational, but arouse no awe; and so far from having a 'moral end,' we cannot tell whether their results will be beneficent or destructive. This is not to disparage the aims and achievements of science, but to point out how little affinity there is between the present climate of opinion and the Christian belief in miracle. For erroneous beliefs are often a greater obstacle to faith than unbelief.

The real issue, then, is not, 'Can miracles happen?' but 'Did they happen?': in other words, it is a matter of evidence. And nothing is more impressive in Gore's Bampton Lectures than his handling of that historical issue. Merely from a literary point of view they are an integral part of the Gospel narratives; you cannot remove them or tone them down without eviscerating the narratives themselves so thoroughly that they cease to make sense. The position is the same theologically. It is with the miracles as with the parables: only those to whom it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God can understand either; for both are Messianic, deriving from—and pointing to—the Christ in whom the wisdom and power of God are incarnate. We have to penetrate 'the incognito of Jesus,' as a modern writer puts it,² and see behind the Jesus of Galilee the Christ of New Testament faith, if we are to understand the meaning of the miracle-stories. And when we do that, we see how congruous they are with all else we know of Him.

I have drawn special attention to these two books, *Lux Mundi* and the Bampton Lectures, because they contain the basis and root of all Gore's teaching and must surely rank as classics of English theology. He was still under forty when they were published. Of his later books, some were written to meet passing issues or particular problems in Church life; others, under the general title 'Reconstruction of Belief,' were meant to rebuild men's faith after the shattering experience of the first Great War; and the last of them, *Can we then believe?*, published when he was over seventy, contains a detached 'Essay on the Relations of Religion, Theology and

¹ For a striking discussion of miracles as signs 'only of Power, and not of goodness', cf. *The Moralists, A Rhapsody*, by the 3rd Lord Shaftesbury (edition of 1699, pp. 332-5). That age, like our own, was one of exceptional progress in science and invention.

² Cf. *The Miracle-Stories of the Gospels*, by Allan Richardson, S.C.M. Press, 1941.

Philosophy,' which is one of the most valuable things he wrote. In particular, the insistence on experience as the proper basis of sound philosophy, and on 'character at its best as vindicating the truth of the Christian doctrines by its all-round applicability to life,' is as modern as it is biblical. Other volumes again were expositions of books of the New Testament. Of these last Dean Inge, whose churchmanship was by no means Gore's, wrote: 'They exhibit extreme honesty of purpose, fearless acceptance of Christ's teaching honestly interpreted, scorn of unreality and empty words, and a determination never to allow preaching to be divorced from practice. No more outstanding Christian teaching has been given in our generation.' One could not ask for a weightier testimony to Gore's theological integrity than that.

It was this fearless love of truth which made Gore appear from his early days as a highly controversial figure, and brought upon him the charge of intolerance. He had to fight on two fronts, against the obscurantism of both Catholics and Evangelicals in matters of biblical criticism, and against what George Eliot called 'the right of the individual to general haziness.' One of his great sources of strength was that you always knew what he meant. Naturally, when he passed from the relative freedom of a canonry at Westminster to the administrative duties of a diocesan bishop, first at Worcester and then at Birmingham, the scope of his conflicts narrowed down to problems of a more practical kind—to the devotional innovations of some of his clergy, who seemed to overstep the limits of the Prayer Book; to the desire for 'interchange of pulpits' between Anglicans and Free Churchmen, which he regarded as savouring of 'religious unreality . . . of which we have already too much'; and even to the dubious orthodoxy of certain bishops and other dignitaries. But he never allowed these conflicts to sour his personal relations with those from whom he differed. Many a time, indeed, he went out of his way to express his admiration and affection for those whose policies he so strenuously resisted. Dr C. H. Dodd in his commentary on the Johanne Epistles discusses the intolerance which in the Second Epistle is 'recommended as a Christian duty'; and he suggests that we could better understand it if we could imagine 'a situation of extreme danger to the Church,' when 'neighbourly tolerance might easily pass over into harmful compromise and compromise end in apostasy.' Gore's diagnosis of the Church's

danger was comparable to that of this Epistle. But he always spoke the truth *in love*—clearly concerned only to preserve the purity of the Church's witness in teaching and in practice as he conceived it, ready to acknowledge himself mistaken if known to be so, and with a humility that shone through every controversial word he uttered.

Nor is it clear that such definiteness as Gore stood for in the Church's life and witness is not itself a liberating power in public affairs. There is an interesting paragraph in Dr G. M. Trevelyan's *England under the Stuarts*, where the author points out how the enforcement of the Clarendon Code at the Restoration, though it deepened the sharp division between Church and Dissent, nevertheless made, in the long run and even in the short, for religious and political liberty. 'The rivalry of Church and Dissent,' he writes, 'forced both sides to overlook and tolerate, and sometimes even to court, any third party.' No one can excuse the cruel and revengeful Penal Laws which gave force and edge to the divisions and caused the antagonisms thus caused to last for generations after toleration had been established. But both sides believed themselves to be standing for definite religious truths which did not then admit of synthesis. Moreover, the third parties available to be courted were not solely political; the scholars and theologians known as the Caroline Divines, men like Bishop Pearson, Jeremy Taylor, Isaac Barrow, Bishop Bull, who were the true precursors of the Oxford Movement, were able to shine as lamps both of learning and of literature precisely because they had a definite creed to write from. Small wonder if their love of truth combined with humanity and wit attracted powerful allies in other walks of life—a Purcell in music, a Wren in architecture, a Boyle and other founders of the Royal Society in science.

The Faith: the Catholic and Apostolic Church as part of the Faith; moral and social duty as a necessary part and product of the same Faith—there you have the essence of Gore's liberating message. The evidence of this third element in his teaching was fully set out in the Memorial Lecture given in Westminster Abbey in 1957 by Dr Mortimer, Bishop of Exeter, under the well-found title 'The Moral Emphasis in Gore's Theology'. What Gore did was to insist, in season and out of season, that 'faith without works is dead,' and to re-interpret 'works' as applicable to every department

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of life—individual conduct, the relation of classes, industrial problems, national and international problems—and at the same time to dismiss as un-Christian the distinction we all tend to make between ‘reputable and disreputable sins.’ Both his activities and his utterances in these fields flowed from his theology. ‘The Bible,’ he used to say, ‘is the book of minorities’; and he turned this phrase to many uses—the need of the Church to purify itself even at the cost of numbers, the need to help the oppressed in Turkey or South Africa or the Congo, the claim of the under-privileged at home to a fuller share of the opportunities of life. He believed that the Gospel proclaimed the infinite value in God’s eyes of the individual, and his right therefore to knowledge, justice, and liberty. Small wonder that the working classes regarded him, as they regarded William Temple a generation later, as in a special way their friend. For he brought the whole Church into the cause of social reform.

Inevitably these activities brought Gore into the sphere of politics; for the reforms he envisaged, both in education and in the handling of economic problems, would require legislation. Yet his sincerity, his shrewdness, and the sense of humour which never deserted him gave him far more friends than enemies. He was well aware of the distinct functions of Church and State; and it is not easy to name occasions when in this particular field he put a foot wrong. At any rate it was a Conservative Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, who nominated him to the Crown for appointment to the see of Worcester in 1901. That does not mean that his protests would be the same to-day. Many of the targets which reformers aimed at fifty years ago have in fact been reached: child-labour in factories and workshops abolished, the Poor Law system drastically overhauled, the problems of poverty and unemployment squarely faced and in many ways solved, education available for all. I cannot doubt that Gore would have welcomed the Welfare State. But I am certain also that he would not have allowed his moral witness to grow slack. Covetousness, accidie, and envy still do their deadly work amongst us: covetousness, which in St Paul’s words is idolatry, because it is the worship of Mammon instead of God; accidie or boredom, which under the specious title of ‘frustration’ accounts both for the activity of the teddy-boy and the inactivity of the slacker; envy—the direct cause of Christ’s Crucifixion—which in the form of snobbery infects every stratum of society and even

threatens the efficiency of our system of public education. Nor can we be blind to the increase of crimes of violence in the last ten years and the extent to which certain organs of publicity and entertainment are contaminating the mental background of so many of our younger people. These are all moral issues, however much they may overflow into the spheres of economics and politics; and as such they are the Church's continuous concern. I have often wished, indeed, that Bishop Paget's great essay on *accidie* could be matched to-day by similar studies of covetousness and envy, and that all these themes could be given a more direct social reference than hitherto; for I believe that Christian people are eager for knowledge and guidance in such matters. Our contribution to the political life of the nation is threefold: the affirmation in a simple and concrete way of life's moral end and its social implications; the offer of the spiritual insight and power which derive from faith; and the assertion of the universal claims of humanity against the inroads of forces which are but provincial, ephemeral, or doctrinaire. In short, Christianity stands for the plain folk's freedom.

Finally, behind all Gore's teaching was the man himself. He was at home in both parts of the Bible—in the books of Prophecy and Promise, which we call the Old Testament, and in the books of the divine Presence which we call the New. He spoke with the fervour of an Amos or a Jeremiah of social justice and of Judgment to come, and spoke and wrote of the Presence vouchsafed through the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit and the Sacraments with the same fulness of assurance as we find in the writings of St Paul and St John. In that Presence and by that Truth he lived and prayed and worked; and his whole life seemed to illustrate the words of the Lord: 'Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall set you free.'

E. G. SELWYN

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THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT (1948-1958) AS TOUCHING ASIA

POLITICAL theory is no longer the cloistered occupation of the student of history. Now that modern means of propaganda can carry the full impact of politics and government into remote parts of Asia even the relatively illiterate develop some awareness of conflicting ideologies.

Recently in a busy shopping quarter of Karachi I asked a Pakistani friend, 'How interested in political affairs are most of these people? Are they in the least aware of what is actually happening?' His answer left me in little doubt. 'Between seven and eight million of these people have been political refugees, roughly one in ten of the whole population. That is enough to make them concerned about what happens to them and their country. The refugees, now integrated in the country, have known what it is to lose everything in one country, and have helped to build another.' This experience of sacrifice and suffering is common to many Eastern countries, and wherever these countries are discovering a satisfactory new pattern or equilibrium the sense of achievement and pride is of no mean order.

Never have the strong contending pressures and rival social doctrines struggled with nations on such a scale as to-day. In a total situation where the tide generally is running against the West it is pertinent to ask three questions. Is it just a myth that Communism is out for world conquest? Must it necessarily take the form of despotism? Will it mellow in time with expansion, or can the flood be canalized, diverted, or stemmed? These questions, and others, have a direct bearing on the present course of events in every quarter of Asia. Revolutionary forces are in tension with the forces of tradition, and the final outcome even in the next decade remains an open question. Meanwhile, nationalism often obscures the other issues because it is used by all sides as a cover or pledge of respectability, justifying so many motives. Each must be looked at in turn, however much they shade into one another both in

theory and practice. The battle is already joined in what we call so euphemistically the 'Cold War.'

The first major skirmish was in Europe, when Soviet Russia endeavoured to capture Berlin by squeezing the French, British, and Americans out of their sectors of the city by a process of blockade. Growing into a full-scale operation, this trial of strength launched the Cold War, a war which was to involve every aspect of deadly rivalry. Half-measures and compromise are no part of the true nature of totalitarian ideologies, except as means to the end.

The consequences of victory for Russia would have been far-reaching. With the whole of East Germany at the mercy of Russia all hope of German re-unification would have disappeared, except on Russia's terms, and the loss of West Berlin would have been a diplomatic defeat for the Western Powers. The whole world awaited the outcome, for Communism was probing West across Europe and had only narrowly missed election victory in France and Italy in the immediate post-war era. West Berlin was saved from starvation, however, by a remarkable airlift. Two and a half million people were kept fed, clothed, and warm enough for the best part of a year by supplies flown in to three aerodromes, which all happened to be in the Western sectors of the city. The blockade began in mid-1948, and was lifted by Russia, tantamount to an admission of defeat, in the spring of 1949. It left a deepening suspicion of Soviet designs. Russia's failure to capture Berlin doubtless made her doubly determined to get her own back later, but it had meanwhile served another purpose. The plight of Berlin had distracted attention from what was happening in the Far East, where the Communist armies of Mao Tse-tung were overhauling and overwhelming the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek. In September 1949 China was declared a People's Republic; Russia gained a partner of vast potential power; and the population of the Communist-controlled world was immediately trebled. The Berlin setback could be momentarily forgotten. From the Baltic to the South China Seas Communist rule was continuous, and the Cold War was assuming new proportions.

Most of the rest of Asia was at that time utterly preoccupied with the burden of self-rule. In 1947 India and Pakistan had become new nations. In 1948 Burma and Ceylon had also achieved

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sovereign independence, and Israel and Jordan had been born in the fires of war. In 1949 Indonesia finally shook off Dutch rule sufficiently to declare itself independent, so that in the space of three years no less than seven nations came vigorously into being. Four hundred and eighty million Asians came to self-rule almost at the same time.

A decade of tranquillity would have been a godsend for the social, economic, and spiritual build-up of the new nations: eight including China, nine if we count Formosa (Taiwan), Chiang Kai-shek's island retreat. But open war was imminent. Scarcely had the West recovered from the change of government in China and decided on negotiations for a peace treaty with Japan than war broke out in Korea. With dramatic suddenness the same issue fundamentally was switched from Berlin 1949 to Korea 1950, and dragged on for three wearing years before an armistice was reached.

The next switch was south to French Indo-China, to use its former name. It took the full pressure of a summit conference in Geneva to bring the war to a halt. In both cases the countries immediately concerned were partitioned, Korea along the 38th Parallel and Vietnam roughly along the 17th Parallel. Partition was the fashion of the time (Germany, Palestine, Kashmir, India, Korea, Vietnam), in most cases compromise or deadlock. Some partition was along racial or religious lines, some on ideological grounds.

Meanwhile, the third all-powerful driving force, nationalism, was becoming explosive in other parts of the Asian continent, particularly in Persia and the Middle East. Taking advantage of the West's many commitments elsewhere and over-confident of his capacity to see it through successfully, the Persian Prime Minister nationalized the oil industry, ignoring all agreements. Confiscation harmed his country's prestige and internal economy more than it harmed the deprived oil companies.

Other surprise strokes were to follow in quick succession—China's 'invasion' of Tibet, which caused anxiety in India; and an internal revolution in Egypt, which toppled the monarchy and brought about a new claim to Egypt's leadership in the Middle East. Egyptian nationalism, already elated by the seizure of the Gaza strip in the lightning war against Israel in 1948, soared to new heights under General Neguib and Colonel Nasser successively. In

1954 Britain agreed to withdraw her garrison forces from the Suez Canal Zone, surrendering years of treaty right to safeguard the canal. Egypt interpreted the occasion as a political victory. Nationalism in the Middle East generally could regard it as a snub to the West, far more successful than Persia's rash effort over oil. European domination was called in question, and this was quickly to be demonstrated, not in some limited orbit, but in an Afro-Asian Conference of 29 nations which met together at Bandung in Java in April 1955. This historic conference temporarily eclipsed even the significance of the Cold War.

The chief protagonists in the Cold War—Russia, Britain, and the United States—were all outside the scope and invitation of the Bandung Conference. The leaders and giants at the conference were statesmen of nations newly liberated from European and American leading-reins. The moment seemed ripe for the pursuit of Pundit Nehru's ideals of Panchshila and his policy of non-alignment. This policy of neutralism was subject to every possible misunderstanding. Some accused Nehru of sitting on the fence, of being two-faced or intellectually dishonest. In the West many failed to see the positive aspects of his policy or admit the possible wisdom of his stand. To be neutral required courage and moral leadership. Nehru provided both, and it was as well that this distinctive lead should come from Asia, and from one whose past experience and personal stature marked him out as an imaginative statesman. Neutralism and non-alignment were the logical outcome of Gandhi's teaching on non-violence, and Nehru, as in a sense Gandhi's pupil and product, was the heir to the pacifist tradition in India and the creator of its political expression. Furthermore, neutral powers could be called in to arbitrate or negotiate between rivals. Indian statesmen strengthened their reputation as peacemakers over and over again—between the Dutch and Indonesia, at the outbreak of the Korean war, in clarifying the relationship with China over Tibet, in pleading for a speedy cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, and generally in steering clear of military groups like S.E.A.T.O. and the Baghdad Pact. Unfortunately his periodic dealings with President Tito and President Nasser tended to compromise the policy of neutrality in the public mind and bewilder potential support. India's failure to settle the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan also weakened sympathy for India's official foreign policy. Neutralism

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has yet to attain the full stature of a practicable ideology. It is shot through with idealism and good sense. Neutral nations serve as desirable obstacles to war, but the policy only works if other nations respect what it stands for.

Bandung was a landmark in another respect—the presence of Chou En-lai, one of the greatest of the political architects of Communist China. Apart from his attendance at the Geneva conference in 1954 and his visit to Delhi and Rangoon *en route*, Chou En-lai was almost unknown personally to the delegations at Bandung. Nehru probably knew him as well as anyone, and between them they had written the doctrine of peaceful co-existence into the Sino-Indian Pact of 1954. Multitudes were hoping that Russia and China under new management might be slightly more benevolent than under the ruthless direction of Stalin. The first impressions of Chou En-lai at Bandung were hopeful. He was evidently out to be friendly. Even hostile delegations began to warm to his patience and reasonableness. In this company of 29 nations he represented far more than China. He was the spokesman for the entire Communist world, the interpreter of Marxist-Leninism, and unofficially holding a watching brief for Soviet Russia, in the latter's absence. It must have been a bitter pill for Russia not to be a participant in so historic a conference, and to find herself superseded, so to speak, by China. It can be argued that China, thrust into the forefront at Bandung, has never lost that position of Communist leadership in Asia ever since. In spite of having no seat or place in the United Nations Organization, Communist China was now out from behind the 'bamboo curtain' into the open and parleying with the nations in public discussion. It took Bandung to establish this.

At the same time there were those who saw in the China of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai an even greater threat of Marxist expansion than they ever saw in the Russia of Stalin. It took a bold man to say so, and the opportunity was not missed. Ceylon's Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, seated next to Chou En-lai at Bandung, accused Communism of being the latest and most dangerous form of creeping colonialism, a version of undisguised imperialism.

Colonialism takes many forms (he declared). The first and most obvious form is Western colonialism, which kept large areas of Asia

and Africa in subjection for generations. . . . We are all against it. . . . In the world of to-day it is an anachronism.

There is another form of colonialism, however, about which many of us represented here are perhaps less clear in our minds and to which some of us would perhaps not agree to apply the term colonialism at all. Think, for example, of those satellite states under Communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe—of Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Poland. Are not these colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa or Asia? And if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?

The sting of this accusation was immediate, and was felt round the world. It sharpened instantaneously the contrast between the three major divisions—the relatively few Communist nations, the anti-Communist nations, and those, looking largely to the leadership of Nehru, who were trying to be neutral. Chou En-lai, Kotelawala, and Nehru suddenly stood out as leaders of separate positions in the Afro-Asian scene. The ideological conflict which had underlain politics and foreign affairs as the Cold War now broke surface at Bandung. China was left in no doubt that her emergence as a world power would be carefully watched. She has played her hand astutely ever since. A group of countries, particularly Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq, and Lebanon, strongly supported Kotelawala's condemnation of Communist colonialism. Most other nations were automatically either neutral, 'uncommitted,' or nervous. Gallant efforts were made to restore an atmosphere of goodwill. In broad principles agreement was reached and found expression in a final communique. Nehru tried to pour oil on troubled waters, and explained that the Bandung Powers were no threat to the outside world. He sent greetings from the conference to Europe and America, and especially to neighbouring Australia and New Zealand. This gesture had the effect of giving a single voice to the Afro-Asian grouping, and thus of restoring its unity as an assembly. The conviction at the conference was that Bandung represented a landmark in the history of liberty and progress.

Another high-level conference at Geneva switched attention back from Asia to Europe in the summer of 1955. It was a meeting of non-Bandung powers—Russia, Britain, France, and the United States—the old war-time alliance. A new reasonableness was in

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the air for the moment. The effervescent Communist Party leader, Khrushchev, was a newcomer at this select and rarefied level of discussion, but it was commonly hoped that Marshal Bulganin, with his old-world appearance and courtesy, would be some guarantee of good faith, co-operation, and legality. But any genuine benefits that might have derived from this Geneva conference or lull were already prejudiced and vitiated by the disastrous situation that had developed in the Middle East.

The perennial struggle for leadership in the Arab and Moslem world between Iraq and Egypt had come to a head again. Nuri es-Said, the veteran statesman of Iraq, had proposed an alignment of nations in a defensive block, chiefly in West and South Asia. Nasser, Egypt's new leader, seeing this as a threat to Egypt's assumption of leadership, denounced the idea, and called the members of the Arab League into session, in order to kill the Iraqi plan before birth. But Iraq and Turkey had by now decided that mutual co-operation was essential, and a pact was signed between them in February 1955. This was the beginning of the Baghdad Pact. Egypt, incensed and not to be outdone, immediately concluded an alliance with Syria. The Middle East was sundered again. This development preceded Bandung, and showed clearly how latent friction reacted at once to the slightest surprise or provocation. Hostility to the existence of the State of Israel was the one theme that brought any real sense of unity to the Arab nations, and Britain, France, and the United States, in a drastic effort to maintain such equilibrium as existed, had promulgated a Tripartite Agreement in 1950 by which the Western Powers undertook not to supply either side—Arab or Jew—with the means of war. All round the borders of Israel an uneasy stalemate persisted. It would not have taken much incitement for war to break out afresh. Arab nationalism, which had failed to suffocate Israel at its inception, showed no sign of succeeding now. Israel was growing stronger as each year passed. The slight to Arab pride was only redressed by the political victory scored by Egypt in gaining full control of the Suez Canal Zone. On the crest of that wave Nasser had gone to Bandung—the hero of the Middle East in Afro-Asian eyes. He now ranked with the great leaders of Asia—Nehru, Chou En-lai, Kotelawala, U Nu, Sukarno, Mohammed Ali. If the immediate future of the Middle East lay in any one man's control that man was Nasser.

The nation that promptly courted him was Russia. The situation suited both. Nasser was threatening Israel with extinction, but what he most lacked was arms. Russia saw her chance of helping.

Little did the Western Heads of Government realize at Geneva in July 1955 that at that very moment Egypt and Russia were about to cause renewed ferment in the Middle East. In early September supplies of Czech-manufactured arms began to pour into Egypt, and Egypt's surplus cotton went north to Soviet countries in exchange. Nasser announced the arms deal as the weapons were arriving. The Tripartite Agreement was swept off the board. Egyptian agents and military missions in other Middle Eastern countries suddenly increased in influence. Through Russia's friendship Communism became a factor in Middle East politics, and the ideological conflict expanded into that area. The repercussions of the arms deal were tremendous. A stream of Russian visitors to Cairo—experts, advisors, technicians—strengthened the link, and over the months Egypt was left in no doubt as to the help she might expect from her new-found patron and friend. Russia's Foreign Minister and Defence Minister, Shepilov and Marshal Zhukov, visited Egypt at intervals, and gave every attention and encouragement. Egypt was naturally flattered. But contradictions remained. Arab fears of Communism in the past were partially offset by satisfaction with the arms deal. Yet Communism and Arab nationalism were strange bed-fellows. On the other hand Russia, which had encouraged the emergence of Israel and had given immediate recognition to the new-born State of Israel in May 1948, had concluded a *volte-face* in her alliance with Egypt and adopted her usual course of opportunism.

The arms deal was far more than an opportune commercial and military transaction. It was a diplomatic triumph of the first order for Russia, re-establishing her in the attention of the world after her exclusion from Bandung; ensuring that China's new prominence did not imply the deterioration of Russia's leadership; and a strong bid for the role of 'champion against the West.' Russia, in the persons of Marshal Bulganin and Khrushchev, set out on a tour of India, Burma, and Afghanistan as friends of resurgent nationalism, the new friends of Nasser, to identify themselves with the 'progressive' forces of South Asia and win over the 'neutral' or 'uncommitted' countries of the East. Their tour hit the headlines in

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every respect, and Khrushchev's maligning of the West carried the strong implication that friendship with Russia was the next, inevitable, and rightful step. The theme was frequently over-played. One is left to wonder what China thought about these weeks of touring in what geographically might well be considered China's 'sphere' of influence more than Russia's. The answer to this conundrum came a year later when Chou En-lai carried out a similar tour, far more widespread, infinitely more tactful, and leaving behind something more like the memory of a gentle breeze than a turbulent whirlwind. But the propaganda tour of Bulganin and Khrushchev in 1955 gave added point to the apprehensions voiced at Bandung earlier the same year. The tentacles of Communism found a new and fantastic out-reach in 1955, far beyond the dreams of Stalin and within three years of his death.

1956 was Nasser's year. Swept forward on the flood tide of Egyptian hopes and emboldened by the monolithic support of Russia, Nasser was admirably placed for various advances and consolidation. Even the sudden 'two-hour notice of dismissal' to General Glubb, British leader of the Arab Legion in the Kingdom of Jordan, came to be interpreted in some quarters not just as a domestic concern for Jordan but the backwash of Egyptian pressure to eliminate all traces of British influence in the area. Meanwhile, Nasser's ambition at this stage was to build the Asswan High Dam, and for this he needed financial capital, looking to the United States chiefly to confirm an offer of help. Suddenly the offer was withdrawn and Nasser's hopes were dashed, his personal prestige rebuffed. In a moment of exasperation and frustration he decided to spite the West by nationalizing the Suez Canal Company forthwith and appropriating all funds and revenue, diverting some later for his pet purpose at Asswan. This show of strength elated the Arab world yet again, not least because his move was so precipitate. Nasser's character, motives, and stature—in the Arab, Moslem, and 'resurgent nationalist' worlds—convinced Sir Anthony Eden, now British Prime Minister, that Nasser was an embodiment of malice and mischief no less menacing to the peace of the world than Hitler, Mussolini, or Stalin had been. Eden issued his warning in early August 1956. Every attempt to solve the Canal problem foundered. The West blocked Egypt's credit balances and a committee of the

Canal users met strong resistance to their proposals for a solution. The tension and feud continued deep into the autumn.

Meanwhile, the world situation was disastrously complicated by three events which, though widely separated, reacted on each other in strange ways. The first was a wave of Polish nationalism which revolted against Russian dictation. The Polish Communist leader, Gomulka, demanded a degree of self-government in spite of Poland being wedged between the upper and nether millstones of Russian armies in East Germany and Soviet Russia, and Russian divisions on her own territory. Russia, dreading the possibility of Gomulka becoming another Tito and breaking away from the Soviet bloc, tried to bring Poland to heel, but Gomulka stood his ground. To the outside world Moscow had suffered a severe snub. This initial defiance, albeit localized in Poland, gave encouragement to anti-Communist sections of the community in Hungary, where revolt broke out in October. But Russian armies crushed the revolt with a brutality that shook the world. Barbarism in all its naked fury was Russia's answer to a bludgeoned but spirited Hungary. Any theoretical idealism that Communism offered evaporated in the minds of millions in face of this clear evidence of tyranny. At this critical moment in the ideological conflict there were good reasons why it was unlikely to spread beyond the borders of Hungary. Britain was absorbed in the Suez problem. France was far from strong domestically or overseas. The United States was suffering her usual four-yearly constitutional malaise, the throes of a Presidential election. Any country wishing to take advantage of the United States election 'hold-up' knew that this was the moment to use. The opportunity did not pass. In the last week in October (1956) Egypt announced a new military alliance of Arab nations. Israel feared the worst, mobilized at once, and decided to strike before the new alliance of Arab armies could become an effective force. Within four days Israel had attacked Egypt and swept toward the Suez Canal at great speed, capturing vast supplies of Russian equipment left behind by the retreating Egyptians. France and Britain demanded immediate cessation of hostilities, failing which they would intervene to ensure the security of the canal. The war continued; the French and British intervened; and the United Nations was faced with a double crisis—war in Hungary, war in Suez. France and Britain agreed that just

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as soon as the United Nations undertook to send an international police force to take over responsibility in the area, and negotiate an armistice, they would stop fighting and withdraw. This happened within six days—the assurance given, the fighting stopped. French and British and Israeli forces withdrew when U.N.O. forces took over. Once again U.N.O. had proved infinitely more effective than the League of Nations had ever been, and morally U.N.O. was more and more accepted as the only adequate arbiter in crucial issues. Meanwhile, in the few days that war had lasted Israel had captured nearly 5,000 Egyptian prisoners while Egypt captured only four Israelis. Israel had got to within a few miles of the canal, and had exposed the much vaunted strength of the Egyptians. British aircraft had made heavy attacks on Egyptian airfields, doubtless as much to warn off the summary arrival of Russian 'volunteers' which Egypt might be tempted to call in as to render the aerodromes useless for Egyptian retaliation. Yet Nasser spoke dramatically of victory, and not defeat, as soon as fighting ceased. Words became empty of meaning for the sake of kudos.

Meanwhile, Russia, having threatened to intervene with weapons of mass destruction, claimed that her influence had brought the Suez war to an end. In truth, however, her threat was not even issued until she knew it would never be needed. The invaders had already promised to withdraw and U.N.O. had promised to send a guard force. How different in Hungary. U.N.O. requested the right to investigate the situation, but Hungary declined to allow even the Secretary-General himself to visit the country. While international decisions were honoured at Suez, the 'police state' was re-established in Hungary. The ideological contrast was never more clear. So much for the background in the range of politics, constant re-adjustment to a changing situation, and a widening horizon. But in a fast-moving phase of history five further elements in the 'total' situation all demand mention.

First, the bombshell of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow in February 1956. At this conference Khrushchev took it upon himself to denounce Stalin posthumously, to deflate the over-towering memory of the creator of modern Russia, and warn the Communist world against the 'cult of personality.' The speech was partly designed to bury the spectre of Stalinism a few weeks before Bulganin and Khrushchev were to

visit Britain. Months later it became evident that the Twentieth Congress was the means by which Khrushchev had placed himself at the centre of operations and, in due course, at the expense of all political rivals.

Secondly, a speech of Mao Tse-tung ('Let a hundred flowers blossom') encouraged constructive criticism of all that was happening in China. Thousands of intellectuals and others took the speech at its face-value, believing that a touch of liberalism had afflicted officialdom. For a year the relaxation continued, till a wave of arrests indicated that liberalism had been carried far enough. Many a writer lived to regret his assumption of literary freedom. The 'rectification' campaign dealt severely with 'rightists,' 'revisionists,' and 'deviationists.'

Thirdly, the years 1956 and 1957 gave a foretaste of what peaceful co-existence could mean if governments on both sides of the Iron Curtain really put it into practice. Cultural links were allowed to develop—exhibitions, delegations, ballet, athletes, politicians. Trade negotiations tended to follow; even tourism began to open up, and thus the hope of friendship through personal contact arose.

Fourthly, the Afro-Asian concept which was crystallized at Bandung was quickly seen to have power in it which could be used for political ends. The new word 'solidarity' was added to the concept. A permanent organization was proposed. Communist influence penetrated it, and headquarters were set up in Cairo. President Nasser had at his feet a fledgeling organization which claimed to be the by-product of Bandung, linked the Afro-Asian grouping of nations with Arab nationalism in the Middle East, and could become the local agency of the Communist world wherever 'solidarity' committees could get entrenched.

Fifthly, scientific genius and superiority became a vital element in the ideological conflict. Atom for atom, nuclear device for nuclear device, sputnik for sputnik—as soon as either side outstripped the other in scientific invention there had to be a scientific reply from the other.

But where is it all to end? What dare we hope in the circumstances? Nothing can be more than a guess. A few generalizations now may prove to be gross miscalculations a few years hence, but it may be better to be rash and wrong than not to speculate at all. To conclude, therefore.

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The whole of Asia is subject to Communist pressure. A world war is by no means a necessity for world revolution. Communism is confident that its own highly developed techniques can win through in the end. Intellectual idealism, propaganda methods, diplomatic and general infiltration are together calculated to succeed. The territorial advance in the last decade has been tremendous.

But counter-balancing forces are equally in operation. Tradition in the East is not without stubborn qualities of resistance. National pride is a brake on outside influences, and Communism is still regarded in places as a foreign import, no more desirable than Westernism in the past. Eastern religions still regard Communism as basically atheistic, and therefore philosophically and theologically in error. Communism's fundamental lack of principle in negotiation sows grave doubt as to its validity, and multitudes realize that Communism ultimately offers not its better self but a new tyranny.

Few have dared to advise Communist leaders on how they might govern their own people. Few have had the chance. One scholar-statesman who fully understands the meaning and intensity of the ideological conflict has expressed himself on the matter. At the end of an extended visit to China as an honoured guest, Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of the Republic of India, speaking to the National People's Congress committee, praised true democracy, praised the changed and confident psychology of the Chinese people, and spoke warmly of their inherited values—a sense of humanism, sweet reasonableness, hospitality to new ideas, and a readiness to change as circumstances demand. He also pleaded for the 'freedom of the creative spirit, and respect for human beings.' Karl Marx, he said, emphasized the need in a true democracy of the fulfilment of the different sides of human nature.

We have to recognize that man is not only a social being. There is another side to his nature—a solitary side. It is what man does with his solitude that is responsible for great works of art and architecture, literature, philosophy, religion, and science. The greatest works are done by men as human beings, as spiritual entities. The vision of democracy therefore is: respect for human beings. It was in such an atmosphere of a clash of ideas and freedom of thought that a hundred flowers could blossom or a hundred schools of thought contend.

IAN THOMSON

ORDER IN CHURCH UNITY

IT is an unpleasant but undeniable fact that religious zeal is generally narrow and that piety has often meant fanaticism. But this is not an age of worship, and with the decline of attendance at church has come as recompense a spirit of tolerance and broad-mindedness, a study of comparative religion, a sense of the relativity of values and of the many-sided complexity of truth. Faith and worship are portals to the infinite, and, to tell the truth, even those of us who value them take from them, and indeed must take from them, what suits us best. Absolute truth exceeds the most acute intellect: none of us attains a standard of perfect self-sacrifice. In religion, as in everything else, we must do as best we can.

It is not the less true that the call to perfectness still does come, as it has always come, to certain Christians; and it is part of the history of Christianity that this call which has made at times the Puritan and the Sectary has also marked movements—now of the laity, now of the clergy—to join in order to live holier lives, and so to form communities to do so. So through religions both of the East and of the West, we have seen men retiring from the world to seclusion, and to cloistered seclusion, in order to win through adoration and through detachment a closeness to heaven which would endow them with richer gifts of holiness and power.

It is a simple fact that England owes most of its conversion to Christianity to men who have lived so. There was a certain austerity in the old British Church of which so few records remain. But the impulse which finally converted first England, and then from England Germany, came from the enterprise of Benedictine monks; and they are active among us to-day. Theirs are two of the Catholic schools the most successful and esteemed, and others both in England and Scotland. But what is also remarkable is that there is now, in the Abbey of Nashdom, an Anglican Benedictine Community which has survived for forty-five years and which is regarded with unreserved favour by the bishops in whose diocese it is placed. It lives according to the Benedictine Rule and is so close to the old Catholic standards and ways that its existence would

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fifty years ago have occasioned scandal and reproach from those who were then fighting the Protestant battle in the Church of England. Following on this is the Anglican Franciscan house at Cerne Abbas, whose missionaries are so popular that they are invited not only to one parish after another but have come to be regarded as the best exponents and promoters of Anglicanism in public schools.

Now, although the communities of the Sacred Mission at Kelham and of the Resurrection at Mirfield were founded as Anglican Communities before Dom Aelred Carlyle established his Benedictine community, there can be no doubt that the vogue and esteem of this community life in the Church of England owes a great deal to the momentum of his personality and his example. He is one factor, and a dramatic and intriguing one, in an enormous change of atmosphere. Dean Church wrote that when as a boy he heard that some children in the street were Roman Catholics he looked at them 'with awful consternation and dismay.' Now the Catholic contribution is accepted as a part of the religious life and culture of the day; and figures have disclosed the fact that on a normal Sunday there are now more Catholics than Protestants attending divine worship in England's churches. Nor would any student of history dream of disputing the advantage or the glory which Europe in general and England in particular owe to the order of St Benedict.

This debt is by no means ended to-day. In France, in Germany, in England, Benedictines are making contributions valued far beyond the adherents of the Papacy or even of religion. Their culture and scholarship extend more widely than their work in liturgy and music, which have attracted attention and widened interest. And it is they who have been set apart by the Holy See for work in Church Unity from their abbey at Chevetogne.

The reason is that their system has remained always close to the Bible and to the essentials of Christianity; that they have a broad and tolerant spirit; and that a life like theirs, which is one of worship in closest relation to the Bible, and which at the same time cherishes a great tradition, should specially adapt them to the work of unity and draw others towards the essentials of faith and worship which the cosmopolitan Communion of Rome shares with all who accept the revelation of the Bible. 'A popular religion,' as Newman wrote to Pusey in a spearlike phrase, 'is always a corrupt religion.'

Northern Europe knows little of popular clamour for such manifestations; but around the Mediterranean and in Russia as in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, the people have turned towards their religious organizers for distraction, for display, for impassioned excitement, for processions, for music and even for dancing. This urge has seldom been refused. Worship and the world have made their compromise.

Then comes the reaction. It is in that reaction to the nobler and the purer, the saner and the sounder that the Benedictines have always found their place.

From the wilds of the Apennines and a castle their founder came to that Rome which in the previous century Constantine had handed over to the Popes. Its incomparable monuments, its air of suave majesty, its climate, which Shelley was to find divine, its hills and gardens, and its tradition of imperial order were already associated with the tombs of St Peter and St Paul. It hallowed the memory of martyrs who were born at Rome or who had fought with lions in the Colosseum and were buried in the catacombs: of Lawrence, Chrysogonas, Sebastian; of Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia; of John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian. Where the Palatine Hill leaned over the marbles of the Forum there was already a great new temple dedicated to the Mother of God.

But the Roman populace, then as now, was far from being an example to the pilgrim. Rome has continued through the ages a city edifying, impressive, significant, agreeable; it has a sovereign power to satisfy and enthrall. Yet to those who really know its people it remains one of the most pagan cities in the world.

The young Christian patrician from Nursia cherished the purest ideals. To further them he fled early from the corrupted capital and the palaces of the Popes to the wild Sabine Hills. There he hid himself in a cave among the rocks and meditated on the law of the Lord, and sang his praise. An organizing genius, he reduced the rules of life made by monks before him 'to a dexterous and starlight order.' He planned for every hour of day and night. There was to be leisure, assuredly, for study; there were to be opportunities for that outdoor work which has always been indispensable to the production of food and which kept those who do it sane and sound; there was no work of goodness or virtue which was beyond the

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scope of the communities he founded; but each was to be a household of God where in courteous and warm relation with one another they would base their lives on ordered worship. The centre of day and night was the celebration of the Holy Mysteries which in an act of thanksgiving and of sacrifice renewed the presence and power of the Christ who was the Word Made Flesh to dwell among us. This central act of worship was surrounded by the Divine Office which, carrying on the immemorial tradition of the Jews, completed recitations from their sacred books with Christian hymns. The basis was the Bible and especially of course the Psalms. But in the hours of the night there were also long readings from the Fathers of the Church and the hours of the day were divided into Prime, Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers, while the Compline or Completorium rounded the evening and sanctified the approach of rest.

Nowhere as in England and in Anglicanism is the general line of these offices known so widely. The offices of terce, sext, and none (from which English takes the word *noon*), with compline, have in the course of the last hundred years been revived in Anglican communities and colleges. But the scheme of St Benedict was epitomized in the Prayer Book: Matins, Lauds, and Prime were abbreviated into Matins, Vespers and Compline into evensong—and as such they provided first England, then large parts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and finally the British Empire and the United States, with a form which for four hundred years moulded the culture and worship, if not of all yet certainly of the leading and privileged class which to-day is being at last displaced, but only to find that in other forms the Benedictine tradition which they unconsciously followed is being renewed in ways more definite and more complete.

The habitual use of the Prayer Book in the Public Schools and through the daily services in their chapels has through the centuries given the educated class in England a familiarity with not only the Psalms and the Bible but the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, as well as with many collects. This familiarity is far more than would be found in the actual Benedictine Schools of to-day. It is indeed not too much to say that the Public School system of England, which, far from being outmoded, is now being made more and more of a norm for secondary education as a whole (where that is not specially scientific), has given to

the education of the boys of the British Empire a Benedictine stamp which has survived from the time when St Augustine's monks, bringing it to England, first founded their schools in connection with the abbeys and cathedrals they so soon set out to build. Their aim was the formation of an *élite* developed with a culture at once Christian and broadly humanistic, an education where classics came to the aid of the Bible, which was the supreme classic. They looked to the welfare of the whole boy, never forgetting that he was the union and interaction of body and soul. They have preserved even to the present day, in spite of influences both from Freud, from revolution, and from America, the rule of St Benedict that pain and chastisement should not be disdained in dealing with youth's difficulties. They have kept to the old standards of manners. Everywhere they have treasured tradition. And in these days more and more headmasters have come to the conclusion that if they are to succeed they, like the Benedictines, must base education on belief.

St Benedict died in 543. In 597 St Augustine arrived in England. He who drew these two dates together was perhaps the greatest of all Benedictines, Gregory the Great. Leaving his ample home on the Cœlian Hill he turned from distinguished service in the state to the order, from which he was in turn called, not without reluctance, to the Holy See itself. Once established in it, he lost no time in launching the project of earlier years, that project familiar to every child who has learned a word of the history of England: how its youth taken to Rome as slaves looked already like angels to the Benedictine who saw them for sale in the Forum and who determined that if they were the subjects of Ælla they should sing an alleluia.

The followers of St Augustine built not only the Cathedral of Canterbury, but those of Rochester, Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Norwich, and Peterborough; they set up the Abbeys of Westminster and Bath. It was they who founded also and built the Cathedral of Durham. With their genius in architecture went also agricultural skill; they spread over England the secrets of the *Georgics*. Many of their saints were pioneers in culture. There was St Theodore at Canterbury, Benedict Biscop at Monkwearmouth, at Jarrow and Durham the Venerable Bede, father of English History; at Malmesbury the poet Aldhelm. At York there was Alcuin, who took the arts of music to the court of Charlemagne.

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But the greatest of the English Benedictines—one of the greatest Englishmen of all time—was a native of Devon, trained at an abbey in Winchester. This was the Winfred, familiar to Germans as Boniface, who brought to Friesland, to Hesse, to Thuringia, and then down into Switzerland the order that duly followed the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. 'If Germany is Christian to-day,' says Kurth, the French historian who more than any other brought into clear relief the masterly work of this Englishman, 'to her monks in the first place she owes it. Not only did they instil higher beliefs into minds, or a purer faith into hearts, but with true patriotism they imported the arts of peace into their adopted country.' Making Fulda his final centre, Boniface established it not only as a focus of Christianity but of letters, arts, and agriculture. What Cecil Rhodes achieved as an organizer in South Africa or Lyautey in Morocco, this English Benedictine achieved twelve hundred years before in Germany as the inaugurator of Christian civilization and of schools of holy life. He thus prepared the way for Charles Martel and for Charlemagne himself.

In Switzerland the Abbeys of St Gall, of Disentis (which met the traveller as he came down from the Lukmanier pass with a sumptuous house which still flashes with gilding, Baroque statues and moulding), of Einsiedeln, and of Engelberg remain to this day not only impressive monuments of the part the Benedictines played originally in the conversion of Switzerland but active centres of modern culture. Einsiedeln and Engelberg have excellent schools; St Gall the richest of libraries. All this is an offshoot of English Benedictine life.

The greatest of French Benedictines was St Bernard. The names of Cluny and Citeaux speak of historic reforms infusing new vigour. In Catalonia the Scholania of Montserrat has been through the centuries the finest of Spanish choirs. If we turn back to Italy we see the order providing at Monreale near Palermo the noblest collection of mosaics, rivalling those of Santa Sophia itself as also of San Marco of Venice. At Monte Oliveto Maggiore near Siena, Sodoma painted for it a series of frescoes outdone only by that of Fra Angelico at Florence, and it was at the order of Benedictines that Raphael about the same time painted that *cosa veramente rarissima e singolare*, as Vasari called it, the supreme religious picture of the Renaissance, the Madonna di San Sisto, which has now

been taken as spoil from Dresden to Kieff, a fate which recalls to us the political predilections of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If we turn back to Rome we are reminded in four great Benedictine houses of the flourishing and powerful state of the order of the present day. The house where as a young patrician Gregory had his home on the Cœlian Hill is now as San Gregorio Magno the college of the Camaldolese monks who, following St Romuald, live lives of solitary contemplation in little *cassette* like those of a Charterhouse, but with the Office, liturgy, and Rule of St Benedict. Moving past the Arch of Constantine to the Forum we find that the Church and Convent of Santa Francesca Romana are in the hands of the Benedictines of Monte Oliveto. The basilica and Abbey of *San Paolo fuori le mure* attach the order to St Paul himself. Wide sweeps of the Aventine house the international college of Sant Anselmo beside the home of the Knights of Malta, and in the newest quarter of Rome behind St Peter's is an immense new Abbey of St Jerome in the hands of French Benedictines. It is the centre for latest researches into the meaning and story of the Bible. In these one finds ample opportunity to find what the Benedictines are doing in relation both to the new world and to the religion of to-day.

'The order,' said Newman, 'has been poured out over the world rather than been sent, with a silent mysterious operation, while men slept and through the romantic adventures of individuals which are well-nigh without record; and thus it has come down to us. Its separate and scattered monasteries occupy the land each in its place with a majesty parallel, but superior, to that of old aristocratic houses.'

That was one side; the romantic spontaneous growth like a succession of manor-houses: the other was the worship of those who aspired above the transitory world, refusing that there should pass a moment in the year when in their naves the Almighty's worship ceased.¹

Such was the picture which some sixty years ago caught the imagination of a boy—like Winfred, from South Devon—and which led him to draw together a number of ardent young men to revive this life within the surprised fold of a Victorian Church of England. The project had hardly been launched than it perforce attracted the attention of the layman then most zealous, eager, and distinguished,

¹ Wordsworth: *The Excursion*.

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the late Lord Halitax, to whom the Catholic Church was a continual romance gleaming upon the borders of Anglicanism. He soon offered the community in Yorkshire Painsthorpe Hall, where it lived from 1902 to 1906. Then, receiving from a wealthy woman a bequest of £50,000, the founder, taking possession of Caldey Island off the coast of Pembrokeshire, embarked on the ambitious career which, while it set up a community devoted to the contemplative life and also lived close to the soil, involved him in bigger schemes than he could finance.

Dom Aelred Carlyle was a remarkable man who sought to give back to the Church of England the Benedictine heritage of a thousand years and unite it with contemplation through a real devotion to the classic mystics; but who was at the same time an *originale* who was never far from the verge of bankruptcy because, instead of on financial resources and business judgment, he relied on Divine Providence for much more than daily bread. While he was trying to strain the comprehensiveness of the Church of England into accepting an Abbey which was to live a real Benedictine and therefore—who can deny it?—a practically Roman Catholic life, he was attempting to do so on a scale beyond anything which he could expect any of his generous benefactors to support. Dignity was a *sine qua non* of the clerical life of his grandfather and of Victorian culture in general; it was essential to the Benedictine tradition which Dom Aelred wished to renew in its glory. He was therefore inclined to put the thought of money aside, having, as he said, a natural gift which enabled him to live each day without thought for the morrow. Anxieties he must have had, but those who went to see him went away cheered by the infection of his courage. Fortitude was his favourite virtue. When he began he said he was conscious of little else than his desire to form a small community of men devoted to contemplation and 'keeping strictly that holy rule which had been for centuries the regeneration of our country and its cloistered homes the preserver of religion and the safeguard of the Catholic Faith.' A prayer he used often was this: 'Dear God, give us the strength to accept with serenity the things which cannot be changed. Give us courage to change the things that can be changed and should be changed. And give us wisdom to distinguish the one from the other.'

This side of a remarkable man is not disclosed in the book about him which has just been published.¹ Its author, like many others, inclines to depict himself in a portrait of another, and can relish a joke at another's expense. The book captures general readers in portraying a life marked indeed by curious contrasts and elements of romance, whether in the cloister his enterprise fashioned or in ministering to wild Indians and condemned criminals. For many the story must the more appeal because at times it flits like a butterfly over high and serious things and at others like a wasp imbibes succulence with palpitations of a stinging tail. But none would guess from it that Dom Aelred Carlyle even said a word about either Benedictine ideals or the spiritual life to the flourishing community he founded.

Drive which comes from a power of decision founded on enthusiasm and which gets nowhere without insight into character was his speciality. He was a swift and excellent judge of men with high confidence in his vocation, and therefore in himself, to put through the work to which he felt himself called. The result was that not only was he secure of the affectionate loyalty of his community but that he knew with whom he could work; he deeply impressed his friends and moreover was able to secure those credits which would have astonished the ordinary business man. . . . Indeed, there was in his personality a momentum not only difficult to explain but so different from the typical English character that his enemies persuaded themselves that what they had not understood was dangerous.

All types which transcend the norm are to that extent martyrs, for hostility bristles at the idea of enterprise and change, as ordinary characters resent the implied criticism of brilliance and originality. So Dom Aelred, who was supported by those who regarded him as a hero, suffered from the busy intrigues of those who wanted to down him, and among these was the most influential Bishop among the Anglo-Catholics. Instead therefore of aiding him, Gore, then Bishop of Oxford, put before him impossible conditions, and he as leader of the community, in which each single member felt himself to be led by the Holy Ghost, abandoned the Church of England to unite with Rome.

Did this mean that for him conflicts had come to an end? No

¹ *Extraordinary Abbot*, by Peter Anson. The Faith Press. 25s.

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more for him than for Newman. He obtained from Pius X the most generous concessions for his community to live a continuous life; but that did not mean endowments; and then too the continuity was the very cause for dislike and distrust from certain English or Anglo-Irish clergy (their name is legion) who strongly recoiled from the Anglo-Catholic movement and from every type of convert from it. It was the type which had fought Newman thirty, forty, and fifty years before. Dom Aelred went over to Maredsous near the Meuse to prepare for taking his position as a Catholic abbot, but even there he did not fit in without a strain.

When he in due time returned, his community on its lonely island appeared to flourish. All felt and were moulded by his personality, with its strong individual character, its warmth, its cheerful vigour, its swift approaches, its gifts of intimacy and confidence, of affection and compassion. He was a pioneer and they were pioneers, pioneers of something of great importance; for he could no more be like the expected type of English or Irish Catholic than he could be a normal Anglican. He represented the impact of Anglicanism on the Catholic tradition—he was not only original, he was unique. A man made to lead an enterprise, a man made to be loved, he was when Catholic, as when Anglican, emancipated from the conventions and inhibitions which play so great a part in all clerical life. His enterprise and his originality still went too far for both practical needs and for quieting the suspicions which his unusual nature had never failed to arouse among those who did not understand him. The tension proved too great: gossip was rife. After a trip to South Africa in the wild hope of buttressing the financial stability of his abbey (Anglican subscriptions being perforce withdrawn) he lost support in Rome itself. Indeed, it was judged better that he should leave his community to other hands while he found a new field for his indefatigable enterprise in British Columbia.

There, where his lack of convention proved a help and not a hindrance, he worked for nearly thirty years. He reached out to the outcast and the condemned to save those who seemed lost. No type was so far gone that the enterprise of his compassion could not establish a link with it. He saw the darkest side of prison life. He lived a series of personal dramas in ministering salvation to those most in need of it, the very men, in Oscar Wilde's phrase, whom Christ came down to save.

Then when his energy gave way to the stress of age he came back to England with a totem pole from the Indians and the freedom of the city of Vancouver to live with the community he had founded. He came back as a simple monk; but he could not be other than a man of mark—his insight, his personality, his warmth of heart, and the air of authority which never left him combined to show at every turn his gift of at once reaching the needs of souls in their depths; by his power of judgment he was still the pioneer and master of men. Among a few survivors of his old flock and many new faces, he lived with that prestige and authority which were the due of his gifts and of his history.

Enemies, even had they wished, could attack no more; he lived in honour and in peace with an eye to pierce and a mind to inspire. Even as an invalid, therefore, he still lived an intense life as priest and friend; for his value was that where he was one of these he was also the other.

If all his story was told it would prove one of the most dramatic, the most touching, and the most edifying that we could expect from any priest or monk of our time. Few understood so well how to mould the instincts of Anglican piety into the spiritual life of the Benedictine Order and of the Catholic Church. Few suffered more from the results of errors of judgment.

If one object of his life was to withdraw from the world to seclusion, another was what he shared with Lord Halifax: a longing for Church unity. As he played his dramatic part he gradually saw prejudices die down. But his essential idea was the sound one—that if we turn our attention to the realities of the Christian life and live it in the great tradition which is the secret of his order, then charity, serenity, dignity, and adoration take mind and soul to heights and spaces where the differences which divide are seen in due proportion. There indeed they diminish and even vanish in the impact of the central and supreme Reality which the mystic knows and towards which the tradition of liturgy leads the faculties of all who cherish the graces of worship and belief.

All who believe that there is one God and Father of all who is above all and through all and in us all, will come nearer to Church unity if they know and honour what Aelred Carlyle knew and honoured.

ROBERT SENCOURT

KING IBN SAUD AND CAPTAIN SHAKESPEAR

WHAT is the peculiar quality about Arabia and its people which has led so many distinguished Englishmen and Englishwomen to dedicate themselves to serve the Arabs, and in some cases even to sacrifice their lives in that service? Lord Belhaven has written that 'Arabia is a hard, barren mistress and those who serve her she pays in weariness, sickness of the body and distress of the mind,' and yet there is a *mystique* about Arabia which cannot be resisted by those who fall under its spell. It would certainly be true to say that modern Arabia, for all the current wave of anti-western feeling which agitates its intelligentsia, owes more to the British than to any other race, including the Arabs themselves.

The Englishmen and Englishwomen who have served the Arabs do not conform to a type. There have been eccentrics like Richard Burton, travellers like Doughty and Philby, soldiers like Leachman, Glubb, and Lawrence, and even brilliant women like Gertrude Bell, of whom the Bedou said—'As Allah has willed: a daughter of the desert.' One of the most remarkable of them all, and a man who might have completely altered the course of Arab history had he lived, is known hardly at all in his own country. Yet in 1929, when Sir Gilbert Clayton asked Ibn Saud who was the greatest Englishman who had served the Arabs, the king replied without hesitation, 'Captain Shakespear.'

William Henry Irvine Shakespear was born in 1878 and educated at King William's College and Sandhurst. He was gazetted into the 17th Bengal Cavalry, but his aptitude for languages soon took him into the Indian Political Department. His first post was as Consul at Bandar Abbas in the Persian Gulf. By 1909 his reputation was so high that he was transferred to Kuwait, which was a post normally reserved for a much more senior officer.

There was no hint in those days that Kuwait would become one of the richest oil states in the world. It was a backward and unattractive Arab sheikhdom with an abominable climate; yet for all its unpleasant features Kuwait's position at the head of the Persian Gulf made it an important trading centre from where it was possible

to penetrate and influence Central Arabia. The state was governed by Sheikh Mubarak es Sabha, one of the great figures in modern Arabian history, and as his political adviser Shakespear was able to exert considerable influence. Fate also decreed that his duties should bring him into close contact with a virtually unknown Arab princeling who was later to become the greatest Arab ruler since the days of Abu Bakr and the Caliphate.

The heart of Arabia lies in the province of Nejd and for centuries the ruler of Nejd has exercised an uneasy suzerainty over the unruly Bedouin tribes who roam across the vast steppes of Arabia. Throughout the nineteenth century two sheikhly families contested for the control of the province. The Rashids, hereditary sheikhs of the powerful Shammar tribe, led one faction and were supported by the Turks; the other party was led by the Sauds, whose senior member was styled the Amir of Nejd. In 1885 the Rashids defeated the Sauds and drove them from their capital at Riyadh, whereupon they took sanctuary at the court of Sheikh Mubarak in Kuwait. One of the last to escape was the eldest son of the Amir of Nejd. He was a tall, gangling youth with a reputation for great personal bravery and a hot temper, and his name was Abdul Azziz Ibn Saud. Sixteen years later the young Abdul Azziz recaptured Riyadh by a daring *coup de main*, but he continued to use Kuwait as his base for forays against the Rashids, and it was during his visits to Mubarak's court that he first became friendly with the British Political Agent, Captain Shakespear.

Shakespear was the type of Englishman best calculated to appeal to a Bedouin aristocrat. He was nearly as tall as Ibn Saud himself, of striking appearance and meticulous about his dress. Bred in the great tradition of British rule, he believed implicitly in the righteousness of the British cause among backward races, and he conceived it to be his duty to express in his person and conduct the prestige of his country. Living as he did among Bedouin with their own highly developed standards of honour and ceremonial, Shakespear was determined to surpass them on their own ground. Every sheikh prided himself not only upon his own pedigree but also upon the pedigree of his mares, camels, and salukis. Shakespear therefore acquired the best horses, greyhounds and falcons in Kuwait. He owned the fastest camels, while his entertaining, among a people who consider hospitality to be the greatest of all virtues, was

princely. Unlike Doughty, who travelled more simply than the most impoverished Arab, Shakespear kept up the pomp and circumstance of the greatest sheikh, and such was his influence that his camel dispatch-riders were allowed to pass unmolested through areas inhabited by hostile and warring tribes.

There seem to have been few limits to his versatility or his wide range of interests. He taught himself surveying and his accuracy was such that few of his observations have had to be altered. Sailing was one of his many hobbies, and he sailed the Persian Gulf in all weathers. He owned a motor car at a time when few other Army officers possessed one, and in 1911 drove across India to the Delhi Durbar in a car he had bought in Bombay; almost as epic a journey as his subsequent crossing of Arabia by camel! He even considered buying and assembling an aeroplane in Kuwait and teaching himself to fly. Amid all these interests he found time to make extensive exploration trips into the interior, discovering for the first time the great drainage system of Central Arabia and mapping thousands of miles of hitherto unknown country. Unlike most European travellers in Arabia, before and since, Shakespear always refused to wear Arab dress, and when Ibn Saud once besought him to do so for his greater safety, he replied, 'Why? Am I not among my friends?'

Shakespear's great ambition was to cross Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, a journey which only three Europeans before him had succeeded in making: Sadleir, Palgrave, and Wallin. He could not obtain official support for this enterprise, so he decided to carry it out on his own, defraying all the expenses out of his own pocket. It cost him over £400, which was a considerable sum for a captain to find.

Shakespear left Kuwait on Feb. 3rd, 1914, to cross Arabia and he was not heard of again for three and a half months. During that period he covered 1,800 miles, 1,200 of which were across previously unexplored desert. He took with him a Punjabi and an Arab boy as personal servants and at various stages engaged guides to lead him across tribal territory; these guides, or *rafiq*, were not merely to show him the route. They also served to provide a safe conduct from attack by men of their own tribe. The entire caravan comprised seven riding and eleven baggage camels, ten men, and four sheep.

The early part of the route lay through Riyadh. This involved a detour of nearly 900 miles, but Shakespear was anxious to visit Ibn Saud in his capital, and also to map the hitherto unexplored country between Kuwait and Riyadh. He was given a great welcome and the freedom of Ibn Saud's palace, a much more austere establishment than the one recently constructed for Ibn Saud's son, the present King Saud. While in Riyadh Shakespear was present at the organization of one of Ibn Saud's tribal forays when a war band, or *ghazzu*, was formed. All the warriors were summoned to the palace and the best camels in the tribe distributed among them. Writing of it, Shakespear says: 'I got some good photos of a sight probably no European has seen. Also saw Abdul Azziz (Ibn Saud) lose his temper more than once. Suddenly called to prayer in the middle of all this the whole crowd formed three lines and Abdul Azziz led the prayer. There must have been at least 300 present.' It must have been a strange sight for Shakespear, in his uniform as a British officer, and surrounded by hundreds of fanatical *wahabis*, most of whom had never seen a European before and any one of whom would have cut his throat as an infidel without the least compunction.

When the *ghazzu* left Riyadh Shakespear rode beside Ibn Saud with the great war banners fluttering in the breeze. Describing the departure from Riyadh, he says: 'Abdul Azziz was squatting on the ground cursing his *hamla* (caravan) while his men were putting the final touches to a spear or sharpening a tent peg. The cavalcade moved off when Abdul Azziz had bought a case of Anglo-Persian Palm Tree brand oil, a carpet and some dates.' Shakespear accompanied the war band until their paths diverged, whereupon Ibn Saud sent him off with his blessing and some guides for the next stage of his journey.

After leaving Ibn Saud Shakespear crossed some hundreds of miles of unexplored territory before joining the main caravan route across Central Arabia. It was during this stage that the caravan was waylaid by a raiding party from the Ateiba tribe, who came across them at night when everyone was asleep. The tribesmen entered the camp and stole some kit. Returning to their companions they proposed that they should open fire on the tents and ransack the encampment, but were dissuaded by the older men, who first wanted to make certain that there were no members of their own

tribe with the party. This would at once confer protection on it and it would be *aib* (shame) to transgress the rules of Bedouin warfare.

While the argument was in progress Shakespear woke up and gave the alarm. A search showed certain kit to be missing and two martini cartridges dropped by the raiders were found. The Ateiba guide who was with them (for they were in Ateiba territory) walked out into the darkness, shouting his name and demanding that if the raiders were Ateiba the stolen property should be restored: 'If you are Ateiba, I am the guide, I, Talaq. We are Ibn Saud's men. If you are Ateiba make restitution.'

The raiders hotly denied that Talaq could possibly be with the party. Talaq then demanded that one of the raiders should come forward and identify him, whereupon a 'mob of men were in amongst the tents in a flash, yelling, grabbing each other, swearing, denying. Suddenly a gun went off and I thought the show had begun, but fortunately everybody cursed everybody else and no one else fired.' In true desert fashion both sides then sat down and drank coffee, and Shakespear continues: 'Having had a look at the mob round the fire, a more villainous-looking crew I never saw, who were all shouting and explaining at once, varied by the most careless unloading of rifles, I went back to my tent and bed.' The stolen goods were returned after the raiders had demanded four cartridges in place of the two they had lost!

Incidents of this type were normal hazards of travel in Arabia until quite recently, and after it was all over Shakespear moved on into the heart of Arabia. He was particularly anxious to avoid the territory of the Shammar tribe, whose Sheikh Rashid was unlikely to look kindly on a friend of Ibn Saud. The Shammar, moreover, were in a particularly truculent state as their sheikh had just murdered his vizier in circumstances which revolted even his blood-thirsty followers. For twenty-nine days Shakespear travelled without sight of a house or cultivation, and the only human beings he encountered were two soldiers of Ibn Rashid who were guarding a well in the desert. They were relieved once in every twelve months, which must surely constitute a record for a sentry's tour of duty.

Eventually the caravan reached Jauf, the most isolated oasis in Arabia, and there Shakespear met Nuri es Shalaan, Sheikh of the Rualla. Nuri was renowned as the greatest warrior in Arabia and has been immortalized in the *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. He was then

contemplating an insurrection against the Turks, a plan he was not to fulfil until Lawrence and Feisal raised the flag of revolt two years later. Shakespear was detained some time at Jauf trying to obtain guides for the last stages of his journey, and while he was there he met Auda Abu Tayi, sheikh of the Howeitat tribe. Auda's portrait by Eric Kennington in the *Seven Pillars* is probably the finest drawing of a Bedouin ever made. The sheikh was a great warrior, but he had his full share of the Howeitat greed for money and he bargained long and hard with Shakespear before he would provide guides. Then Shakespear set off from Jauf on the last stages of his journey, which were to be the most dangerous and most exhausting.

Shakespear's route took him south of the Tubaiq mountains, which were never entered by a European until Glubb penetrated their isolation in 1932. Then he turned north-west, skirting the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, and coming down through 'Rumm of the Pillars, Which has no equal.' During this stage he was persuaded to wear Arab dress, partly to avoid raiding parties and partly to deceive the Turks who patrolled the pilgrim road which ran down from Ma'an on the Trans-Jordan plateau to the Gulf of Aqaba. Shakespear finally crossed the road on May 15, and the last entry in his journal reads: 'Worst day on record. Managed to set aneroid unobserved. Had to dismount and descend fearful looking place. Precipitous for nearly an hour, then dark. Shoes gave out and men very done when we halted at 9 p.m. and Abdul came to say that Salama (the guide) wanted to go on all night to clear Wadi Musa by daylight. Had to jettison most of tent and four skins of water and redistributed loads. Two camels badly lame. Started again at 10 p.m. Gave myself away to Salama about disguise as further concealment seemed impossible, but it was a rash thing to do. Rest of night a nightmare of stumbling along with bruised feet and falling about for want of sleep. Actually we travelled twenty hours on end with only two short halts. Fearfully stiff and sprained. Shall remember this day for ever.'

Sunrise on May 17 showed three small buildings to the north. They made for them and found them to be the Egyptian gendarmerie station at Kuntilla in Sinai. They were in British-protected territory again, 1,800 miles from their starting-point. As Douglas Carruthers has put it in his description of Shakespear's journey:

'Shakespear passed on to Suez, Port Said and Europe, a contented man, having achieved his ambition and having added his jot (no small one) to the sum total of human knowledge.'

But for the outbreak of the Great War three months later there is no doubt that Shakespear's trans-Arabian journey would have received far greater acclaim and would have been enshrined in his country's annals of exploration as Sir Vivian Fuchs's trans-Polar expedition will certainly be. As it was it was engulfed in far greater events and Shakespear was recalled from his well-earned leave to take up his old post in Kuwait. This was not to his taste, as he was anxious to get back to the army, but his influence with Ibn Saud was too valuable an asset to be wasted. It was known that the Turks supported Ibn Rashid and Shakespear's mission was to persuade Ibn Saud to come out openly against the Turks in return for British support against the Rashids.

As soon as he could get together a caravan Shakespear set out to join Ibn Saud, who was camped 330 miles to the west of Kuwait. In the last letter he ever wrote Shakespear recounts his meeting with Ibn Saud, who 'is as friendly as ever to me personally. I had several confabs with Ibn Saud and as a result sent a report of some nine pages of foolscap to Government. I don't suppose they will agree with my recommendations because they never do, in spite of the fact that everything I have been telling them was likely to happen in this part of the world has happened. They will probably go on messing about until they make Ibn Saud so utterly sick that he will chuck his present friendly attitude (for which between you and me and the bed-post I am mainly responsible) towards us for a hostile one, and then heaven knows what trouble may not be in store for us and all the petty chiefs along the Gulf.'

The letter continues: 'The camp here is rather interesting. Ibn Saud has some 6,000 of his men in tents and thousands of Bedouin all around and in a couple of days we should make a move for a biggish battle with the other big chief of Central Arabia, Ibn Rashid. From all accounts he has not anything like the same force, so the result ought to be pretty certain, but there is never any knowing what these Bedouin will do; they are quite capable of being firm friends up to the battle and then suddenly changing their minds and going over to the other side in the middle of it. Ibn Saud wants me to clear out, but I want to see the show and I don't think

it will be very unsafe really. Their shooting is very wild, so wild in fact that one is more likely to be hit by one's own side than the other. Anyway I ought to get some decent photos, if he attacks in daylight, of a show which so far as I know no white man has yet seen. All I hope is that Ibn Saud's men don't get so madly excited as to take me for an enemy or think they will go straight to heaven for killing a Christian, for they do get worked up to an absolute frenzy and part of the process of getting ready for the attack is two or three days singing and drumming to work this up.'

Captain Shakespear was dead before his letter was received, but the circumstances of his death have never been fully established. The two armies met on Jan. 24, 1915, and by the end of the day Ibn Saud was in possession of the field. His friend, however, had been killed in the battle; some reports tell of him serving one of Ibn Saud's antiquated artillery pieces, conspicuous in his British uniform; others of his being cut down by the fanatical tribesmen. He never lived to add to his many other accomplishments that of being the first Englishman ever to participate in an old-style Arabian battle. His bones lie, like any humble Bedouin camel-herd's, in the great desolation of Arabia which he loved so well, and which he was the first to map.

It is interesting to speculate how history might have been changed had Shakespear survived the battle and remained with Ibn Saud as his right-hand man. He might have been able to persuade Ibn Saud to take an active part in the war against the Turks and to guard the left flank of the Expeditionary Force which was fighting its way from Basra to Baghdad; had he done so the long drawn-out agony of Kut might have been avoided and Baghdad captured months earlier. If the flag of the Arab Revolt had been unfurled in the Nejd instead of in the Hedjaz the part played by Lawrence and Feisal might well have proved unnecessary and Ibn Saud might have become Lord of Arabia in 1920 instead of nearly twenty years later. British influence would have predominated in Riyadh and British capital might have developed the vast oil fields in Saudi-Arabia to-day. It is not altogether fanciful to believe that Arab unity, the dream of every Arab, would have come that much sooner and without the backbiting and hatreds which divide the Arab world to-day. All this might have happened

but for an obscure Bedouin's bullet or knife-thrust in the wastes of Central Arabia.

Although the story of British policy in Arabia may be termed one of lost opportunities, not all the opportunities were lost through our failure to discern them; sometimes, as in Shakespear's untimely death, fate played a part. Ibn Saud took hardly any part in the war against the Turks, but built up his strength for a final show-down with Ibn Rashid. It was not until 1920 that this took place and a certain young engineer captain, John Bagot Glubb, who had newly arrived in Iraq, was an eye-witness of the outcome. Standing beside the bridge of boats across the Euphrates he watched all day as a continuous stream of Bedouin tribesmen poured across the great river, with their camels, tents, goats, sheep, women and children. They were the defeated Shammar of Ibn Rashid fleeing from the vengeance of Ibn Saud; the Rashid have never again disputed the lordship of Nejd and one of Ibn Saud's many sons now rules as Viceroy in their former capital, Hail.

Once his hold on Central Arabia was secured Ibn Saud turned his attention to the Hedjaz, seat of the Holy Places and the kingdom of his arch-enemies, the Hashimites. It was from the Hedjaz that Lawrence had set forth on the campaign which was to end only in Damascus, and with him had gone Feisal, afterwards King of Iraq, and Abdullah, afterwards King of Jordan. Both were British protégés and in his quarrel with the Hashimites Ibn Saud was quarrelling with the British Empire. His religion-crazed *wahabis* swept the querulous old Hussein out of the Hedjaz, caused endless trouble along the borders of Iraq and Trans-Jordan, and in 1924 nearly captured Amman itself; they were turned back at the very gates of the town by a few antiquated R.A.F. 'planes and some armoured cars. The *Ikhwan*, as Ibn Saud's fanatics were known throughout Arabia, were constantly clashing with the British who were responsible for the safety of the frontiers of their Mandates in Iraq and Trans-Jordan.

Peace did not come to Arabia until the nineteen-thirties, by which time Ibn Saud had gained control over his tribesmen and Glubb had pacified the Bedouin of Trans-Jordan and Iraq. Yet there could be no real understanding between Ibn Saud and the British while King Abdullah lived. He was Britain's staunchest ally, but Ibn Saud knew that Abdullah was determined to win back his ancient

patrimony of the Hedjaz and the coveted Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. It is not altogether surprising therefore that Ibn Saud was never really certain about British intentions and much of Saudi Arabia's tortuous policy towards Britain in recent years stems from this fact. It is as true of foreign politics as it is of human relations, that it is impossible to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Thus British policy with regard to Saudi Arabia was always hampered by the dynastic feud between the Hashimites and the Sauds.

Had Shakespear lived things might have turned out differently, although it is always unwise to be dogmatic about a race as fickle as the Arabs. If Shakespear was alive to-day he would know that the words he wrote around Christmastime in 1914 have unfortunately and unhappily come true. 'Heaven alone knows,' he wrote, 'what trouble may not be in store for us and all the petty chiefs along the Gulf.' He was not to know then that the petty sheikhs of whom he wrote were to grow as rich as Cræsus from the oil which lay under the desert, but he did foresee the influence that a man of Ibn Saud's character was likely to exert. Perhaps he was fortunate to die when he did and not to live to see all that he admired in the Bedouin character corrupted and destroyed by oil. Shakespear explained his affinity with Arabs by describing them as 'men'; his feelings might have changed had he known Saudi Arabia to-day and witnessed the passage of one of Ibn Saud's children as he sweeps through Riyadh or Jeddah in a vulgar Cadillac. How would he have felt if, at the height of the Buraimi dispute, he had seen his country foully slandered by the gutter-press of the Middle East and known that the 'copy' had been delivered to the editors with Saudi 100-dinar notes pinned to it?

More fortunate than many who have loved Arabia and dedicated themselves to its service, Shakespear died before he had any cause to re-echo Lord Belhaven's aphorism. It was a land of blood, a place of black or white, and without half-tones. One either loved it or hated it, and felt the same about its people. They were cruel, treacherous, and covetous, but their code of honour was unbreakable and their hospitality breath-taking. Shakespear was never to see that code of honour besmirched nor his old friend corrupted. Perhaps he was lucky that he died when he did.

J. D. LUNT

RICHARD FORD

IN a neglected corner of a suburban churchyard in Exeter, tangled in brambles and fern and ivy, lies the tombstone of one who is described as *Rerum Hispaniæ Indagator Agerrimus*. Richard Ford, who died a hundred years ago last summer, is probably remembered by few except students of English literature and Spanish painting. Few now remember his most famous book, the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, though it remains the best travel book in the English language. Quite apart from this claim to distinction, however, Ford calls for special commemoration in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, for it was to these pages that he contributed, over a space of twenty years between 1837 and 1857, his most remarkable book-reviews. Nor was this his only association with the publishing house of John Murray. His *Handbook* was written at the request of the John Murray of the time, and published in that series of guide-books which has never been surpassed for usefulness and accuracy either in Britain or abroad; and he was largely instrumental, too, in persuading Murray to publish *The Bible in Spain*, the book that at once established George Borrow's literary reputation.

Richard Ford was, however, a man of much greater parts and wider interests than this. A lengthy obituary notice in *The Times* rightly says that 'in the Fine Arts his knowledge, his skill, and his judgment were remarkable. Had he not been an eminent writer he might have achieved eminence as a painter'; and one feels also that he might have been a considerable politician had he been so minded.

In a sense the most remarkable single fact about Ford's life was that he chose virtually to cut himself off from society and the arts by settling at the age of thirty-seven in the distant city of Exeter, where he passed the major part of what may be called his working life: the sixteen years from 1833 until his second wife's death in 1849. The Exeter to which Ford went to live on his return from several years in Spain was a cathedral city of barely thirty thousand people, long fallen from its eminence as a commercial and industrial centre, nineteen hours from the metropolis by the fastest coach, and

as provincial as could be. Why should a man of such great artistic gifts, with such a genius for society as Ford possessed, choose, at the peak of his mental powers, to spend so much of his life in an apparent backwater, far from nearly all his friends, unpropitious for creative work? For one can reasonably take the view that Ford would have been a man more known to fame and posterity had he not buried himself at the height of his powers in so remote and stultifying a place.

Richard Ford was born in London on April 21, 1796. His father was Sir Richard Ford, descended from an old Sussex family, at one time a friend of Pitt, an under-secretary for the Home Department and later the chief magistrate for London. His mother was a daughter of Benjamin Booth, who made one of the finest collections of Wilson paintings of his time. Many of these paintings in due course came to Richard Ford and still remain in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr Brinsley Ford, in his London house.

Sir Richard Ford died in 1806, at the early age of forty-seven (apparently bled to death by his doctors), when his eldest son was a schoolboy of ten at Winchester. The latter went on in the course of time to Trinity College, Oxford, in those days 'an institution for the training of youngsters to spend money and break the University statutes.' Despite this unscholarly background, Ford graduated from Oxford (he must have been one of the few civilized members of the college) and thence entered Lincoln's Inn. Here he read law in the chambers of Pemberton Leigh and Nassau Senior, the leading English economist between Ricardo and John Stuart Mill and the author of the famous 1834 report of the Poor Law commission. Mercifully, Ford was influenced neither by the law nor by political economy. He was called to the Bar in 1822, but he never practised.

Assured of a competence from his father's estate, he proceeded to spend the next years in travel abroad. He had indeed travelled extensively from the age of nineteen. With the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 and the reopening of the Continent after so many weary years, he visited Paris and the battlefield of Waterloo. In the following year he made the tour of Switzerland and the Rhine, and in 1817 he went to other parts of Germany and to Italy. Then he made the Grand Tour, returning in 1818 in order to read for the Bar. It was on this tour that he bought at Naples an oil sketch by Correggio which became the subject of his first published writing.

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At the age of twenty-three, the author and the collector had begun to emerge.

Until his first marriage in 1824, Ford continued to travel on the Continent and to lay the foundations of his notable collections of paintings, drawings, and engravings. He formed the habit at some stage of carrying a notebook in his pocket wherever he went, in order to jot down anything that struck him, either seen or read. When each book was filled with notes and sketches, it was put into a box and carefully kept. One would give a great deal to possess Ford's notes on southern Germany or on Italy, but shortly before his death he made a bonfire of a great trunkful of these notebooks. His wife was able to rescue only two from the conflagration. These she had bound, and persuaded Ford to sign it and to paste his book-plate in it for the last time. Had it not been for this lifelong habit, however, of carrying about a notebook we should never have had the famous *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*, for this was written in Exeter years later from a multitude of such notes and sketches. But we have run ahead a little.

For some six years after his marriage Ford lived mostly in London, enjoying the distinguished society of the day. He idled through these years, adding to his collections and reading widely, preparing the rich soil for the germination of his later work, but he did not publish a line for nearly twenty years, from 1819 until 1837. His wife's health was delicate. In the summer of 1830 she was 'condemned to spend a winter or two in a warm climate,' and Ford decided on the south of Spain, a country he had never seen and one unknown to the vast majority of English people. It was a momentous decision, for it coloured the rest of his life. It is upon his vast knowledge of Spain, and all that pertains to the history, literature, and art of that country, that his fame now rests.

The Spain to which Ford decided to migrate with his household was commonly regarded in England as dangerous and difficult for travellers, and the *Handbook*, despite Ford's general view to the contrary, shows that it could be so. But he had friends in high places who knew the country well, and the risks were, for his wife and children, not so great as they seemed to the uninformed. An old Winchester friend, Henry Unwin Addington (nephew of that egregious reactionary Lord Sidmouth), had been appointed a year earlier as Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid; and back in London

Ford had met the American writer Washington Irving, who had gone to Madrid in 1826 under semi-official auspices to write his *Life of Columbus* and was now Secretary of the United States legation in London. No less a personage than the Duke of Wellington, whom Ford knew and boundlessly admired, said that Granada was charming. (To Ford throughout the *Handbook* he is simply The Duke and there are many references to him.) The English consul at Malaga, whom Ford met often in London, sang the praises of Malaga as a second Paradise.

Stimulated and reassured by all these authoritative opinions, Ford made the necessary arrangements for the journey. They crossed the Bay of Biscay in mid-October, landed thankfully at Gibraltar, where they stayed, rested, and explored until the endemic boredom of the Rock drove them on to Cadiz—'charming, clean, and tidy, abounding in all good things'—and so by steamer up the river to Seville, where they had rented a house for the winter.

Ford had begun the journey entirely ignorant of the Spanish language: he and his wife passed the three weeks' voyage to Gibraltar learning the grammar; and in his six months' stay in Seville he laid the foundations of his prodigious knowledge of all things Spanish—exploring cathedrals and picture galleries, churches and streets, bookshops and bullfights, markets and fairs, talking with everyone, flirting with the Andalusian beauties, sketching everything, buying all manner of art treasures. Seville offered him everything he wanted. All this 'for much less than the weekly bills in London . . . I hope to save at least half my income,' wrote Ford to Addington in Madrid.

At this point something should be said of Ford's letters. He was as brilliant a letter-writer as he was talker at the London dinner-table. The surviving letters are the indispensable material (indeed almost the only material) for Ford's life and thought over the period between 1830 and the end of 1857. Ford himself desired in the last melancholy months of his life (he was dying of Bright's disease) to destroy everything he had written, to leave no materials for a biography, and to have his friends destroy his letters to them. The letters to Addington (among others) survived this general destruction—perhaps through the influence of Mrs Ford, who had saved two of the notebooks from the blaze a few months earlier. Addington treasured Ford's letters to the end of his life, and left

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them in his will to his own wife with the request that she should pass them on to Richard Ford's widow, his third wife, who survived him by some fifty years. They were eventually edited by R. E. Prothero (later Lord Ernle), originally for private circulation, but then published (at Mrs Ford's instance) in 1905.

They were, it must be confessed, not at all well edited by modern standards, and a new and complete edition is greatly to be desired.¹ Not only were there domestic difficulties between Ford and his first wife which the third Mrs Ford perhaps naturally did not wish to publish at large (though they were quite unscandalous and she had died nearly seventy years earlier), but Prothero suppressed—without giving the slightest hint that he was doing so—many of Ford's characteristically intemperate remarks about the French, whom he professed to hate and fear as some of us do the Germans to-day, and the Americans, whom he vigorously disliked. There are, too, a great many excisions in the original letters where Ford's pen became too masculine and broad in its humour or bitterness, but these seem harmless enough to-day.

Ford's original intention had been to spend a winter or two in Spain. But it fascinated him so much that it was three years before he saw England again. During that time he spent long periods travelling (without his family) through various provinces of the country, filling one notebook after another and accumulating an unrivalled knowledge of all things Spanish. By the summer of 1833, however, he was forced to consider coming back. In a letter from Granada he says:

I found Mrs Ford much better, very much better than I could have expected—so much so that we have determined on returning to England in September. . . . I do not like the look of things here, and with the Portuguese business and the cholera in the Peninsula, think it high time to return to England. Indeed, it is high time for other reasons. My wife is left alone without female society; my children at this important age are brought up as heathens and Spaniards, a pretty prospect for daughters; and I myself must purge like Falstaff, and live cleanly like a gentleman, and take to that gentlemanlike old vice, avarice, to save a little money for the bad times which hang over England.

¹ The original letters to Addington, handsomely bound in three volumes, are now in the possession of Mr Brinsley Ford, to whose kindness and hospitality I owe the opportunity of reading them in full and quoting from them here. Wherever I quote it is from the original letters and not from Prothero's edition.

In his first letter to Addington from London, early in December 1833, Ford suddenly reveals

I am going down to Exeter, where I have taken a house for a year, and am going to place my children in the hands of my brother to eradicate *Santa Maria*, and teach them the architecture of the interiors of English churches.

The letters as published conceal the reason for this curious move away from London and all the life that he had hitherto enjoyed. In fact, Ford and his wife had agreed to live apart. She remained in London, and Ford was left with the problem of the children, two daughters and a son. Three other children had died in infancy. It is probable that Mrs Ford's health was still delicate (in fact she died in May 1837) and that she was unable to cope with the bringing up of a family. Ford's younger brother James had been ordained in 1821 and was now married and living in Exeter. This was the solution to the difficult domestic problem, and the reason why Ford chose to retire so far from the kind of life he had always known.

However, it was by no means as bad as it sounds. Exeter, though a provincial city nearly a day's travel from London, had not yet lost all traces of having been a provincial capital. Before London grew monstrous and railways had made it easily accessible, England had been dotted with cities, independent of the metropolis and providing all the amenities of a capital city, towns such as Norwich, York, Newcastle, Bristol, Exeter, and Worcester. At Exeter the remnants of these amenities survived into mid-Victorian times. So Ford could write early in 1834:

This Exeter is quite a Capital, abounding in all that London has, except its fog and smoke. There is an excellent institution here with a well-chosen large Library, in which I take great pastime and am beginning my education. There is a bookseller who has some *ten thousand* old tomes to tempt a poor man. However, here one has no vices or expenses except eating clotted cream, and a *duro* crown piece wears a hole in your pocket before you are tempted to change it. The dollars accumulate, and I am reading my Bible and minding my purse. . . . I amuse myself much with old Spanish books and old Spanish recollections, and *have my pen in hand*. The more I read, the more ignorant I find I am, and how the middle age of life has been mis-spent. I am rubbing up what I knew at eighteen and nineteen; it is an awful thing, now the world is so learned and the lower orders walking encyclopædias, to think of writing anything and printing.

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Ford began, indeed, to plan and write a book about his Spanish travels, and in the spring of 1834 he sent a mass of manuscript to Addington, who was now back in London from Madrid and living on a Foreign Office pension. Addington was alarmed at some of Ford's outspoken views about Spanish affairs and his reply was discouraging. The manuscripts passed to and fro a little longer and then were put on one side when Ford, still highly enamoured of his adopted city, bought a small Elizabethan farmhouse on the outskirts of Exeter, in the village of Heavitree, together with about eleven acres of land around it, and was completely captured by a passion for building and furnishing and landscape-gardening.

For the next few years the letters are full of the details of the reconstruction of Heavitree House, as Ford chose to call his growing mansion, and of his designing and planting of the gardens in the Moorish fashion of Seville, with which he often favourably compared the city of Exeter. He was trying, too, to persuade Addington to come and settle near him in Exeter, and found one house after another for him to consider. Nothing came of this, and Addington finally settled at Pangbourne so as to be more accessible to London.

Ford himself moved into Heavitree House in April 1835. From then onwards London became increasingly detestable to visit. How well one understands his slow submergence in the ethos of Exeter:

a man goes quietly downhill here, *oblitus et obliviscendus*, reads his books (or those of the Institution), goes to church, and gets rich, which is very pleasurable and a novel feeling—better than the *romance* of youth.

There was gardening in a rewarding soil and a congenial climate, clotted cream and one's own strawberries, fishing in still unpolluted streams, fine wine in the cellar, a good library and bookshops, and a cultivated society in the city and the countryside around (even if it was not the least bit interested in any of the arts). Exeter even had a small school of artists of its own—William Traies, John Gendall, and John White Abbott and one or two others—and Ford, for all his talent in drawing, did not disdain to take lessons from Gendall over long periods. The daughters were 'very nice good little girls and getting excellent protestants and Englishwomen' and 'I am one of the select vestry of Heavitree and there I have planted my stick.'

Occasionally there are slightly bitter references to his unhappy marriage:

My brother is in great force. His wife has had a miscarriage. The best of wives may miscarry and the best of husbands may miscarry. . . .

and

My Valdepeñas is as much improved as yours and is a delicious tippie. In it do I indulge daily, bidding farewell to the daughters of Eve who have stings in their tails. . . .

Meanwhile, building and furnishing was taking a good deal of money and he sold some of his Spanish pictures. Mainly for this reason, too, he began reviewing for the *Quarterly Review*, though his first article was on the unpromising subject of cob walls, in which Ford had become interested during his reconstruction of the old farmhouse. This was in fact a review of the first volume of *Transactions of the newly founded Institute of British Architects*. Thereafter most of his reviews were of Spanish subjects, such as the theatre, bull-feasts and bull-fights, banditti, genealogy and heraldry, ballads, art and architecture, and a multitude of other interests. Occasionally he strayed outside the pages of the *Quarterly*. Thus he reviewed Borrow's *Gipsies of Spain* in the *British and Foreign Review*, and *The Bible in Spain* in the *Edinburgh Review*; and he often went outside Spanish subjects. He reviewed *Oliver Twist* in the *Quarterly* for June 1839; and there was a brilliant review in June 1846 on the apparently unrewarding subject of *Miles on the Horse's Foot*, a book published in Exeter which Ford was possibly trapped into reviewing by some local encounter. A complete bibliography of Ford's review-articles and books has been given by Mr Brinsley Ford in *Book Handbook* (1948, no. 7). Without this many of Ford's best essays would be untraceable.

Ford's first wife had died and he had married again in within a few months. By March 1838 he was in residence at Heavitree and writing contentedly for the *Quarterly*, earning the money to pay for the decoration of his house and for some excellent claret. But the main event of these years is the writing of the famous *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. John Murray had started his series of *Handbooks for travellers on the Continent* in 1836. Mrs Trollope had written two volumes on Belgium and Western Germany, and

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Trollope himself almost wrote the Handbook for Ireland (the story of his abortive attempt to produce the book is told in his autobiography). Ford was dining with John Murray some time in 1839 when his host asked him to recommend someone to write a handbook for Spain. Lightheartedly, warmed no doubt by the publisher's claret, Ford said he would write it himself, envisaging perhaps six months' work in his myrtle-clad garden-house at Heavitree. The writing was begun in November 1840 and occupied him for three solid years. The letters are full of groans about the slavery to which he had condemned himself. Sometimes he was tempted to give up the whole project, but he ground on slowly at his deal table, surrounded by piles of notebooks and manuscripts.

There was every conceivable disaster before the *Handbook* finally appeared in the summer of 1845. A considerable part of the book had already been set up in type when Addington, to whom the text had been sent, condemned the preface outright for its outspoken treatment of recent Spanish history and politics. Apparently much else was severely criticized, and Ford eventually withdrew all that had been set up in type at a cost to himself of some £500.

I have quite determined [he wrote in February 1845] on cancelling *Handbook*, and reprinting it *minus* political, military, and religious discussions, and to omit mention of disagreeables, and only make it smooth and charming.

Much of the book was rewritten and at last Ford travelled up to London with the great manuscript in his portmanteau. At Paddington (for Exeter was at last connected with the metropolis by railway) the portmanteau was missing and nothing was heard of it for a week. Then it turned up in the north of Scotland, whither some other traveller had taken it by mistake, and was eventually sent back.

The published *Handbook* ran to two thick volumes, 1,064 pages of small type, a great part of it in double column. One occasionally has reason to admire the courage of publishers as much as the endurance of authors, and this is one of those occasions. But this was a work of genius, and doubtless Murray recognized it as such. Lockhart reviewed it at length in the *Quarterly*, saying *inter alia*:

the best English book, beyond all comparison, that ever has appeared for the illustration, not merely of the general topography and local curiosities, but of the national character and manners of Spain—her arts, antiquities, peculiarities of every conceivable class—appears in

the modest guise of a 'red Murray' in two pocket volumes. We have no doubt that the work includes a capital *Handbook*, but it is not, in fact, to be tried at all by that standard. . . . Mr Ford unites qualifications not often combined. . . . He has thought fit to undertake a task, humble in sound, but in fact gigantic. . . . Surely every reader will acknowledge that this handbook is the work of a most superior workman—master of more tools than almost any one in these days pretends to handle, and among them of some which few indeed could have meddled with, and not cut their fingers. In whatever it might have pleased him to present himself, the public must have hailed, with admiring respect, the combination of so much keen observation and sterling sense with learning à la Burton and pleasantry à la Montaigne.

Despite its size and price, the first edition of the *Handbook* sold out in barely more than a year. The second edition, which appeared in 1847, was severely reduced in length and also sold rapidly. Much of the matter excluded from this edition was incorporated by Ford in a volume (which came out in 1846) entitled *Gatherings from Spain*, which also included much new material. This book, better known than the *Handbook* and much more easily obtainable nowadays, was written at great speed. Like the *Handbook* it was an immediate success. It was received with acclaim by all the critics, and in some quarters Ford became known as 'Spanish Ford.'

With the death of his second wife in 1849, Heavitree lost much of its charm and Ford made his principal home in London once more. He was now a literary lion. It is curious that his name appears so infrequently in the memoirs and diaries of the time, since he knew so many eminent people, but there is one odd reference in Carlyle's letters—odd because it gives a character-sketch of Ford which few if any of his friends would have recognized or confirmed. Carlyle dined at Anthony Sterling's in South Place on Dec. 7, 1851, expecting 'a mutton chop with Ford'. Instead of this it was a grand dinner with 'Mrs Ford and all the girls dressed like tulips.' The guest of the evening was Ford, and he made a poor impression on Carlyle, who wrote to his wife that he was

a man without *humour* or any gracefulness or loveability of character but not the worst of men to dine with at all; has abundance of authentic information—not duller than Macaulay's, and much more certain, and more social too—and talks away about Spanish wines, anecdotes, and things of Spain.

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Perhaps Carlyle was put out by meeting a better talker than himself, or Ford may not have been in form; but none of his friends would have recognized this description of him as a man without humour or loveability.

Obituary notices are not the most trustworthy of documents, but the numerous essays to his memory that appeared in 1858 all speak of his kindness and gaiety and unmalicious wit. Thomas Hughes, whose *Tom Brown's Schooldays* was the last book Ford ever reviewed, rightly said of him that

no man of the same eminence as a reviewer ever made so few enemies, for the kindness of the man was equally characteristic of the reviewer, and his was eminently the wit which loves to play, not wound. . . . The same kindness was probably the real cause of his great success in society, which, after all, was the greatest of all his successes. There are two or three men in each generation who rise to eminent social distinction, who are emphatically 'the best company' in any society they may chance upon. Such men are not quite so rare as poets, but, like poets, they are born, not made, and Mr Ford was one of the best specimens of the genus.

Ford continued his masterly reviews up to within the last year of his life, but his health was failing slowly for the last five years, and towards the end he lost all his great gaiety of spirit. When he died his only son, Clare Ford, was an Attaché at the Lisbon Embassy. How immensely gratified he would have been had he lived to see him appointed Her Majesty's first Ambassador to Spain in the year 1887. Richard Ford died, however, on Aug. 31, 1858, and was buried in Heavitree churchyard, within fifty yards of the house he had laboured so long to make beautiful. Now the house itself is a shambles. The Moorish gardens are submerged in houses and bungalows, the skyline filled with television aerials; and the myrtle-covered garden-house is quite gone, the little room in which was produced the only work of literary genius, for such was the *Handbook*, that was ever born in the somnolent city of Exeter.

W. G. HOSKINS

LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE is usually thought of as a means of communicating information between people—people both as individuals and as races. The overwhelming bulk of knowledge that most civilized persons possess is received, by description, in the form of language. Since world problems increasingly depend on language and discussion still breeds misunderstanding more often than agreement, we should carefully analyse the part that language plays in human affairs.

Sometimes language is used intentionally to obscure facts, and here one tends to think first of all of politicians and lawyers. But, in truth, most people are familiar with the experience of using words with the intention of deceiving. Scientists and philosophers are usually credited with trying to use language in more and more precise and sophisticated ways, to try and clarify their ideas, for it *is* ideas ('concepts' and 'beliefs' are alternative and similar words) that language communicates; ideas that the individual has about the world. We call these ideas 'facts' when many people have the same idea and at other times we call them hypotheses, and sometimes just ideas.

There are great difficulties in communication between peoples and of this we are more or less aware and are inclined to blame it on to the lack of an international language. With the present increase of nationalism we might suppose that the cause of an international language was lost and forgotten, for Esperanto failed because, finally, no one felt a sufficient incentive to learn another language. Nothing changes people like necessity, and, perhaps fortunately, there is one field in which necessity is gradually making English international, and this is the field of science.

English is increasingly being used as the language of science. This can be heard at any scientific congress wherever it is held. Scientific textbooks in Europe are usually printed in English and every European scientific student reckons to be able to read English. This streak of internationalism is running counter to localized national feelings at the political level. Whatever the outcome of this

struggle and necessity seems to be ultimately on the side of science, we must in the meantime attend to the other more pressing problems of language. The great difficulty of translation at U.N.O. suggests that as long as different languages exist there will always be the problem of restating ideas adequately in a new language. It isn't only here, though, that problems arise; they occur among people who speak the same language.

If we imagine two Englishmen talking to each other we realize that they talk in sentences, and these sentences express the ideas they have. The first may say to the second something like 'Pass the salt and pepper,' and this is easy for his friend to follow and the passing of the salt and pepper will suffice. If, however, he says 'I believe in democratic institutions' it would be more difficult to demonstrate this point in the same way as one might pass the salt and pepper. This is because words are a coded form of our ideas, and when they refer to simple physical objects in our immediate environment or actions that we can perform, it is easy to point or to demonstrate. If the sentences we use refer to abstract ideas and very much more complex formulations such as are implicit in words like 'democracy,' then the problem is much more difficult; to bring this home let us imagine the difficulty of explaining a word like 'democracy' by gestures alone.

We find that the world at large has vastly different ideas of what is meant by democratic institutions, and this is reflected in the vagueness of the language. It is not only that the word is vague in that it has never been precisely defined; it is that there are many very different underlying ideas or concepts of what is democratic.

In our hypothetical conversation, if we tried to define our terms and said 'By democracy I mean such and such and so and so,' this would only help to the extent that the words such and such and so and so could be made clearer. Suppose we said 'Democracy involves a certain measure of freedom,' it ought to be pointed out to us very quickly that, before we went any further, we should have to define 'freedom.'

We are beginning to realize the problems of language when we see that uttering the same sounds does not necessarily involve conveying the same idea, and this arises without any of the problems of having two different words for what may be *roughly* the same idea. It is not always easy to see what abstract words mean, and

these are the words that inflame nations, groups of people, and even next-door neighbours. Hearing a rather embarrassing discussion once about the nature of *love*, it was clear that some confusion was caused by assuming the word 'love' meant the same thing in the two sentences 'Mr Jones loves his job' and 'Mr Jones loves his wife.'

The trouble is that there is no sure way of knowing whether or not we have understood someone else correctly, for not only may our interlocutor be using words wrongly or even using the wrong words; the words he uses will not generally stand for precise concepts. The meaning of a sentence is not all that occurs to a person when he hears another person speak. If someone says 'Somerset is a beautiful county,' the listener may have a flood of associations, connected with being at school in Somerset, the hours of anxiety while waiting for the Somerset cricket score, or the book on Somerset he once read. The speaker is almost certainly not thinking of these things when he says 'Somerset.' He is talking, for all we know, of a certain circumscribed area, but he obviously is thinking of more than that, since he has seen beauty (what is that? we should ask) there, and will have his own private associations.

Before considering what scientists have tried to do to sharpen their meanings we must remember that anthropological studies of language suggest that there is more variation in people's concepts and their relation to language than one might have thought possible.

The Hopi Indians of North America, for example, have a very different sort of language from the familiar Indo-European variety of English and French. The Hopi language does not convey the idea of temporal change as does our language. Our language suggests causal relationships operating over an interval of time. For example, in English I may say, 'I am holding the bat,' which suggests an operation extended in time, whereas Hopi, which often has verbs without subjects, reports something like 'hold bat,' where the emphasis is purely on the relations existing between things. There is nothing like 'You are holding the bat; in a minute you will put it down,' etc.; rather there is a language which is timeless and merely reports spatial relations at any moment.

This example might seem curious to an Englishman because his form of language, which continually puts subjects and predicates together, is built almost exclusively around actions and operations, where holding, putting, seeing, giving, etc., emphasize the operative

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character of events. Hopi and many other remoter languages emphasize the state of affairs without the emphasis being on the change from state to state.

Scientific language which has tried to construct operational definitions to make its meanings precise—this is a way of referring to certain physical systems by the way they are constructed—is largely Indo-European in origin and therefore has many of the same concepts as underlie the Indo-European language. It has even been claimed that many of science's advances involve overcoming the one-sided and misleading character of Indo-European language. Relativity theory with its notions of 'simultaneity' created a different picture from our usual one by welding time and space together, and we see now that temporal changes can be adequately described in terms of spatial changes. Then quantum mechanics, which talked of wave states and particle states when describing the same system, was really seeking to express a concept unexpressible in English or any other Indo-European language.

Shawnee, another North American Indian language, is also very different from our own. In Shawnee the English sentences 'I drop it in water and it floats' and 'I push his head back' are more or less indistinguishable, and their common feature, not obvious to an Englishman, is that they both involve the idea of a force and a resistance to that force.

The Shawnee example seems extraordinary, and shows how it is possible to highlight wholly different aspects of one's environment, probably according to their importance for the survival of the people concerned. It is, however, noticeable that mathematics would highlight the same sort of features in the above sentence, since both would express a truth that is embodied in Newton's law that in equilibrium each force has an equal and opposite force operating on the body concerned, whether it be the force of the water opposing gravity or the neck muscles opposing the force you are applying to someone's head.

We have mentioned mathematics and science in the context of these remote language examples, and it seems that mathematics and symbolic logic are more universal than our ordinary language in trying to dissociate the emotional and irrelevant overtones of a language from the relations, states, and other things to be described.

Mathematics arises when we start counting and distinguishing

between one sheep and two, and two and three, and so on. Logicians and mathematicians who are interested in the foundations of their subject have tried to increase the precision of their language by saying it starts from formal marks on paper which can be manipulated according to formal rules and only later does the question of the marks having meaning arise. The main trouble with this is—not that it seems to matter much for most practical purposes—that the rules themselves are still open to the vagueness of ordinary language, where we started, and if we make these rules precise by constructing a special symbolic language, that still leaves vague the rules for the manipulation of this language. Always we come back to the person who is actually speaking, and the person actually listening and his own private experiences. In practice, language is accompanied by gestures and various signs of emotion which convey almost as much information as the words we use and this is not adequately pictured in precise logic. However, there are many other aspects of language that have been nicely revealed by logicians. They have shown us how easy it is to talk nonsense with words even though we don't know it ourselves.

One of the best-known paradoxes was unearthed by Zeno and goes like this. If Achilles was to have a race with a tortoise—and, of course, we all know in advance that Achilles will win easily—then we can arrange to give the tortoise 10 yards start in a 100, which is wholly inadequate to his winning. But now for Achilles to win the race he must first run off the 10 yards between himself and where the tortoise was, and however fast he goes over the 10 yards it must take some time, and during that time the tortoise will have made some progress—say 2 inches—towards the finishing point. So again we can say that Achilles must first run off the difference of 2 inches, and in this time the tortoise must have gone some distance further still, so how, we finally ask, is it possible for Achilles to pass the tortoise?

This illustration shows that language can muddle facts quite badly. Obviously it is a fact that Achilles wins easily, therefore the confusion in describing the facts must be due to the inadequacy of our language. Somehow our little verbal models of the world have come adrift.

Languages are models of the world of our experience and the main thing for us to realize is that we can build our models in

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vastly different ways, highlighting different aspects of our environment. Shawnee and Hopi highlight certain features and we highlight others, and usually we are quite unaware of the extent to which the choice of our language influences the way we actually regard the world. It is easy to see the differences of outlook when they are *obviously* very great, as they are between Shawnee and English, but much more difficult when they are apparently small as between, say, English and French, or between two people both speaking English, yet even here we may expect the same sort of distinctions to apply.

The difficulty of translating French into English is notorious and makes us leave many phrases in their original language. *Esprit de corps* and *coup d'état*, for example, have no exact equivalent in English. This reminds us again that our pictures of the world have been divided up by different people in different ways, rather as if we all had our own fret-saws and made different jig-saws out of the same picture. In terms of our analogy we now have to admit that some shapes others have achieved seem to catch and mirror aspects of nature that our jig-saw has omitted, and doubtless in turn we have shapes that they have failed to achieve. It seems to be the case that no jig-saw will ever mirror all aspects of nature at the same time and, what is even more important, the sort of jig-saw we have influences the way we look at the world. The idea of not regarding things as being in a sort of temporal flow is an example of a concept that is quite novel to us who speak languages such as English.

We have emphasized that there are differences between languages and that languages are not always easy to translate into other languages. Even if you speak the same language as another person there is still no guarantee that you will successfully convey the ideas you wish to convey, partly through the inevitable vagueness of language, but also due to the fact that the words we use are trying to describe things—processes, events, relations, feelings, and other facets of our experience—which are simply not verbal and often defy the process of coding into any language at all.

One example of individual differences is important in showing that language finally has the irritating habit of being as individual as one's fingerprints. This is a fact that has been used by statisticians for finding the authors of previously anonymous works. Writers, and speakers too, use the same sort of phrases and the same sort of

words again and again, and if we simply add up the number of times they use words like 'good' or 'bad' or colour words like 'red' and 'green' and then compare them with another writer we see that an individual is consistent with himself and different from other people. By such means evidence has been assembled that claims to show that Shakespeare was not the same person as Bacon or Marlowe, although there is some dispute about the last point.

But to return to our important theme, we must remember that we habitually have difficulty in formulating our problems to our neighbours, and certainly to people from other parts of the same country, so it can be imagined how considerable these difficulties become with people from other parts of the world. The biggest trap of all is that we often *seem* to be understanding what is said to us.

It is useless at the moment to press for a new international language, for there is no motivation to construct one. The only international language we have is scientific and perhaps mathematical, certainly it is significant that when we thought of trying to send messages to Mars some years ago, the only message that was felt worth trying was that of Pythagoras' theorem. What we can do is to accept and be aware of the difficulties, and this requires a great deal of caution. Any attempt to convey attitudes such as sarcasm through an interpreter is useless, and yet our habits of speech are so ingrained that we forget this when we are faced with a language of which we are ignorant, and are subsequently astonished at the complete lack of understanding that our words have engendered.

The search goes on for ways of clarifying human communication and science is taking an increased interest in these problems because it has found that many of its own obscurities can be laid at the same door—of language.

One point stands out above all else, language is increasingly bound up with the evolution of civilization. We must consider that all the knowledge acquired by human beings is acquired in one of two ways; either by direct acquaintance with facts or by description of those facts. The vast bulk are in the latter class; we certainly do not have to go to Africa to believe that Africa exists or directly observe Napoleon to believe that he existed, all of which is fortunate. At the same time we remember that animals only learn by acquaintance, and this is the reason that their evolution is so slow.

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The enormous progress made by humanity has been wholly dependent on language and through that language the ability to have histories, sciences, and all the forms of knowledge of which human beings are justly proud.

Language is increasingly taking the place of action. It is now possible to explain and discuss problems where once ignorance directly precipitated fighting and warfare. This has all been made possible by education. Education is a systematic training by verbal description, although even here some practical demonstrations are known to be necessary.

It is a strange fact that, whereas science plays a vital part in education at almost all levels and everyone is taught to write and read, no one or practically no one is taught the science of language; the means by which science itself exists. Its importance is not only in that it describes scientific facts, but far more in the fact that we spend a large part of our waking life talking and being talked to. All the political 'facts' upon which we base our decisions at elections and most of our knowledge of foreign countries and their attitudes and prejudices, policies and aspirations are described to us in words, words that may fail to be clear or may intentionally deceive: written words in our newspapers, spoken words on our radios and televisions. All the time our education omits to include a study of language that would allow us to analyse the words we hear and make us less ready to be deceived or quite so ready to pass judgement on others.

Words represent ideas and ideas inflame man by stimulating other ideas, and this is possible in a world that is increasingly committed—as civilized people must be—to the use of words.

One misunderstanding is primarily responsible for our neglect of language. We are inclined to say that politicians and other people do not really misunderstand each other over words, they have different ideas. But where did they get these different ideas and prejudices? The answer is that they got them through language too, and this is by far the more insidious influence of language.

Our educational system must somehow cater for this vital omission in its midst. We must learn to insistently ask two fundamental questions: (1) What do you mean? and (2) How do you know? Science deals with the second, but the first, and it must come first, is embedded in language. Philosophy and logic must be taught at

schools, for these subjects by tradition deal with language in the important sense that we believe it must be analysed. Philosophy of science must be taught to scientists at university and to everyone connected with science in either its pure or applied form.

We may encourage people to point at things, to think in silence, and to enact words realistically in terms of what is implied in changing their attitudes and actions and continually practise the analysis of words we hear without jumping to conclusions about what the words *must* mean. Misunderstandings of every kind at all levels of communication are occurring at a time when we can least afford it. At a time when science and communication are increasing at greater and yet greater rates, our ability to throw off narrow prejudices that have been encouraged by our language and its blind use that is encouraged by our educational system, unaware as it is of the vastness of the problem.

International languages are no solution, since the troubles can occur within a single language and this should make us reconsider all our institutions and activities that are anyway due for revision and overhaul in the new world of automation and nuclear power; let us reconsider them in the light of our languages, which are the most neglected and yet most important single invention of man.

F. H. GEORGE

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1958—*STILL* A TURNING-POINT?

AT the beginning of the year the writer ventured to suggest that 1958 might be seen in retrospect as marking a turning-point in world affairs generally and the fortunes of this country in particular. Now (October 1958) three-quarters of the year have gone and there seems no reason to modify that opinion. It is true that the overall world picture remains much the same as it was. Russia steadily pursues her policy of fishing in troubled waters wherever she can, by so doing, embarrass and harass the Western Powers, playing on their conflicting interests and forcing them to spend time, money, and thought in preventing minor disturbances from developing into war. North Africa, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Irak, Iceland, Aden, and now the Far East have in turn provided opportunities for the Soviet to oppose the interests of Britain or of all the N.A.T.O. countries and, in the name of peace, to keep them under the threat of war. The pattern of the cold war, in fact, remains unaltered. But it is becoming clear that the Western nations are learning their lesson and that the Soviet have failed completely in their main purpose—to drive a wedge between Britain and the United States. For this credit must certainly go to Mr Macmillan. At the time of his first conference with the President in Bermuda, relations between the two countries were clearly strained almost to danger point. The American attitude at the time of the Suez affair still rankled in British minds and the spectacular rise in the influence of Colonel Nasser rammed home inexorably the tragic folly of American action at that time. Anger on one side and disillusionment on the other made reconciliation and a fresh start very difficult. Mr Krushchev was, in fact, nearer to dividing his two principal opponents in the free world than he had ever been before or is ever likely to be again. No praise can be too high for the courage, the tact, and the firmness of the British Prime Minister in handling so potentially dangerous a situation. But he succeeded, and the picture is completely altered. There is now clear recognition of the 'interdependence' of these two dominant powers, and though Mr Dulles seems to enjoy 'brinkmanship' he and President Eisenhower are

much more ready to listen to advice from their British allies and to seek to march in step with them. The grave problems and the grave dangers still remain, but it must be counted as a tremendous gain that Britain and America now face them together—and with greater firmness and confidence.

There is, too, a second major development to record. Until quite recent months the Chinese Republic, emerging slowly from chaos and economically almost completely dependent on the Soviet, had been a useful outlet for Russian trade and an invaluable means of propagating Communist doctrines throughout the East. Moreover, she was an ally who gave no cause for anxiety, unlike the satellite countries of Europe, where any deviation from the 'pure' ideals of Communism or any assertion of independence was fraught with danger. But in these last months there have been signs that the rulers of the Soviet no longer feel quite so complacent. The Chinese Republic shows discomfiting symptoms of growing up and the wise decision of the Western Powers to relax their already obsolete ban on exports to China has weakened, if only slightly, the grip of the Soviet on the Chinese economy. With only a frontier line separating the rich mineral and food resources of Russia from the numberless hordes of Chinese with a low standard of living and a wakening appetite, Mr Krushchev and his colleagues must now keep one eye on the East. The Russian dictator can no longer summon his Chinese opposite number to Moscow to give him his instructions. He has to go to Peking to consult with an equal. Indeed, Mao-tse-Tung was strong enough to oblige Mr Krushchev to withdraw his agreement to a summit talk within U.N.O. On the Formosa question Russia can continue to be as intransigent as ever, but *vis-à-vis* the N.A.T.O. powers more caution will clearly be needed. If this in fact be so, then clearly it is vital to the West that the Formosa question—or at least that of the off-shore islands—should be settled once and for all. It is fortunate indeed that at this juncture America and the British Commonwealth can together take a strong line to gain such a settlement. China is clearly not yet ready to risk a show-down and Russia would certainly be reluctant to risk war in the West on an issue which is at best a matter of *amour propre* and 'showing willing' to an ally who might well prove a most dangerous enemy. But firmness must not degenerate into mere stubbornness. The declared ambition of Chiang Kai-Shek

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to re-conquer the mainland of China is so patently a pipe-dream that the great powers cannot afford any longer to countenance it. What matters is to preserve Formosa itself as a bastion against the further spread of Communism to the islands of the Pacific and beyond. If that bastion can be preserved by returning Quemoy and Matsu to the mainland Government to whom geographically they belong, and putting Formosa, protected by 100 miles of sea, under the protection of U.N.O. and the great powers, no consideration of saving the face of Chiang—or indeed of Mr Dulles—should be allowed to stand in the way. This is already widely recognized here and would seem to be becoming accepted in America itself. Moreover, such a solution, falling short as it would be of China's full wishes, could certainly not strengthen the already straining bonds between the Soviet and the Chinese Republic, and might well lead to a much more reasonable attitude of the Soviet towards the Western Powers in seeking a settlement of the still unresolved problems of Europe. The next few weeks from now (October 1958) may well prove fateful for generations to come.

The other area which is vital to the efforts of the West to contain Communist expansion is, of course, the great semi-circle of countries around and behind the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean—the Middle East stretching from Persia to Egypt and back inland to the Persian Gulf and continued by the north coast of Africa from Egypt to Morocco and the Atlantic. These two great sectors have one common characteristic—they are predominantly Arab and Muslim; but the problems they present and their significance to the West are, in important particulars, dissimilar. The Middle East is important firstly for its oil and secondly because, perched dangerously on the Mediterranean edge of it is the tiny enclave of Israel to the preservation of which as an independent state the West is deeply committed. In the North African sector the main concern is strategic rather than economic, and, at the junction of the two, Egypt stands astride the direct route to India and the Far East.

It would be a grave mistake to underrate the strength and the reality of Arab nationalism, but it would be equally wrong to put too high the likelihood of creating an effective Arab League. All the states of the Middle East belong to the Arab family, but the fact that some of them are fantastically rich and others tragically poor creates so many internal jealousies and strains that it is

unlikely that they would form an united front, controlled by one of the less wealthy nations, against the West, who are and must remain the customers of the 'oil states' and therefore their real source of wealth. In one thing only are they united—hatred of the inter-loper Israel; and the basic problem facing the West is to use all their economic strength as oil-buyers to preserve the independence of that little country, which is the creation and child of Western statesmanship. It would seem that Western policy in the Middle East should recognize the strength of Arab nationalism and even try to secure a closer union of the Arab states in some pooling of their wealth for the benefit of the poorer members of the 'family', and, in particular, to relieve the lot of the Arab refugees, whose plight is one of the main causes of the hatred of the Israelis. Diplomatic effort and economic pressure could do much to secure this end.

It is of course recognized that the closing of the ranks of the Arab countries would involve some serious risks, especially the risk of the whole Arab world turning to Communism. That chance can surely be exaggerated. Islamism itself presents a very tough obstacle to the atheism and anti-religious idealism of the Soviet Communists. In the political field too the imposition of Russian domination would not be easy to achieve. Colonel Nasser no doubt views with great satisfaction, though probably with no great confidence, the possibility of becoming the Dictator of all the Arabs, but must have much less enthusiasm for the position of playing second-fiddle to the Kremlin. The story of Mussolini and Hitler is still too vivid a memory. In any case, the risk may well have to be taken with the knowledge that the virtual dependence of the area on the continued goodwill of its Western customers must remain a strong deterrent against taking a line which would be offensive to them.

In the North African sector much depends on the success or otherwise of General de Gaulle in settling the present difficulties of France in that area, and in spite of the overwhelming support the general received in the Referendum a few weeks ago, we must unfortunately wait a little longer before we can see. It can, however, be said that the divisions and the conflicts of interest between the North African states are no less marked than amongst the 'oil' states and their neighbours at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The severance by Tunisia of diplomatic relations with Egypt and

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the Arab League and President Bourgiba's reluctance to be dragged into the struggle in Algeria are symptomatic.

To sum up—Russia's position has become slightly more difficult because of the small 'cloud' on her Eastern borders, while the Western Powers have, to a considerable extent, closed their ranks. Moreover, though the detailed problems facing the West are as numerous and as complex as ever, the fundamentals of those problems have become a little clearer and better defined. All of which amounts to a slight, if only a very slight change for the better.

And now to the particular matter of our own economic position. The effect of the action taken in September 1957 to check inflation has been dramatic. In September 1957 our position was almost desperately serious. Our reserves were totally inadequate to support the vast trade carried by sterling. The international speculators had made so vigorous an attack that devaluation of our currency seemed imminent. We were faced with rapid inflation at home and collapse in our overseas trade. A year later, in September 1958, the picture had completely changed. The reserves had risen steadily to a level which, though still below what we really need, was high enough to make possible a wide relaxation of the control of dollar imports; convertibility of sterling became an ideal at which we could aim and not just a pipe-dream; the Bank Rate was back at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the crisis figure of 7 per cent., prices had been virtually stable for months and the cost of living index had fallen and showed signs of falling further still. The normal autumn pressure on our economy which, looked at a year ago, had appeared likely to mean disaster, had been safely passed. Indeed in August, normally a bad month, we actually gained substantial ground. We are, in fact, in a much stronger position in every way to meet any attack on sterling than we have been for many years, and the chances of an economic crisis in the autumn of 1959 are very much less than appeared likely a year ago.

It was against this happy background that the Chancellor and his Cabinet colleagues went to Montreal—with no doubt some feelings of satisfaction with the part they, and others, had played in the events of September 1957. No longer is too much money chasing too few goods. On the contrary, the great increase in production capacity in the last ten years coupled with the restrictions of consumption as a result of the credit squeeze and the slowing

down of wage increases have created for many industries the new problem of finding markets for the goods they produce. Furthermore, the comparative stability of prices has removed the temptation to anticipate needs by purchasing goods before prices rise still further. Quantitatively, therefore, production is in many fields now greater than immediate demand. Makers of capital goods find their order-books shrinking to a realistic level instead of the 'honey-moon' level of the days of steady inflation and manufacturers of consumer goods now meet with a sales resistance which discourages expansion and development. If this state of affairs were allowed to continue too long, it would make a policy of full employment a practical impossibility.

Clearly, therefore, we must move cautiously into a period of expansion with the immediate emphasis on increasing consumption. What are the conditions in which the transition can be made? There would seem to be four essentials. Firstly, stable or if possible falling prices; secondly, stable costs and as a corollary stabilization of wages unless rises can be offset by increased efficiency and economies in production; thirdly, an expansion of credit to provide for capital development and to increase immediate purchasing power; and fourthly, the development of new markets. To create these conditions requires the combined effort of Government, industrial management, and the wage-earners themselves, and it may be useful to consider each problem in turn.

First, then, stability of prices. The Restrictive Trade Practices Act provided a weapon—perhaps not quite as effective a weapon as it was hoped—to prevent the exploitation of the consumer by price rings, cartels, 'secret courts', and other such devices. The powers under this Act must clearly be used to the full, and it may well be that the system of re-sale price maintenance allowed under the Act will itself have to be watched if it threatens to keep prices up beyond what is needed to protect the manufacturer's goodwill and to give him a secure basis on which he can safely spend money on research and development. Furthermore, tariffs against foreign-produced goods should be limited to cases where an overwhelming case for protection can be made. Competition must be allowed to work to the utmost to hold and to reduce prices to the consumer.

Next, stability of costs and wages. Clearly if costs are allowed to rise, prices must rise with them. Cutting of profit margins and restriction of dividends, below a reasonable level, can make little

difference to prices if wages, which form so very much larger a part of production costs, are allowed to rise, without a corresponding increase of efficiency. The effect of reducing unreasonably the 'rent' of capital would stop the flow of fresh capital and mean transferring spending power to the wage-earners who, *a priori*, have done nothing to deserve it. This is not to suggest stabilization of wages, but merely to say that increased wages must be earned—surely an unexceptionable requirement.

Thirdly, expansion of credit. It was argued above that production *quantitatively* is now ample to meet current demand. That does not mean that further substantial capital investment in industry is not still desirable. Most industries are still faced with the need to modernize production plant to take advantage of new and improved techniques. They are also faced, many of them, with the necessity, during the next few years, of abandoning the production of goods which have hitherto been their bread-and-butter but which are now superseded by newer goods or materials. In the whole vast field of synthetics, the chemists and the physicists are producing almost daily new materials with new properties. Some will serve new purposes, but many will provide cheaper and better *alternatives* to materials produced by previous methods.

Manufacturers will therefore need to spend more than they have hitherto to ensure that new scientific developments are used to improve their production technique, and it may well be that, even to keep their place in the markets they have, they will have to scrap and replace valuable plant and machinery which has become outdated. There is, therefore, no doubt as to the need for extending credit for investment in production. The Government have shown their understanding of this need by relaxing the 'credit squeeze' through the banks and by lightening the pressure of the Capital Issues Committee. It is up to industrialists to see that the credit now available to them is used with wisdom and, above all, with foresight. In the public sector too, while still seeking to reduce revenue expenditure, there would seem to be an opportunity and a need to increase capital expenditure as a stimulus to the internal economy and to take up the temporary slack in the demand for labour. Speeding up an extension of the already vigorous programme of roads development would be both popular and a sound investment. The electrification of the railways and the development of the use of diesel locomotives could do more than anything

to increase the efficiency of these services and to make them less unprofitable. It is only in the case of the mines that there would seem to be reason for very serious reconsideration of present plans. It may be that oil is destined to replace present forms of solid fuel as a source of power in the years which lie between us and the nuclear power age. In any case, the fact is that stocks of small, and for many purposes useless, coal have reached alarming proportions, while the supply of large coal is still short. How far this may be due to the introduction of coal cutting by machines rather than by men is a technical question, but looking ahead the future demand is likely to be increasingly for smokeless fuel and for more easily distributed forms of power such as gas. No doubt vigorous research is being made into the methods of distillation of coal and of such revolutionary ideas as the extraction of gas underground. The results of such research might profoundly influence the future development of this, our greatest natural asset, and as a consequence the way in which our capital should be invested in it.

The need to raise the level of capital expenditure in the public services and the nationalized industries has been recognized by the Government in removing the limits imposed a year ago and in the proposed investment in housing through the agency of the building societies.

Even more urgent, however, in to-day's conditions, is a substantial increase in consumer credit. The freedom given to the banks in the late summer was followed by a 'selling campaign' as vigorous and as eye-catching as anything hitherto provided by a commercial trade war. Personal loans and 'cloth cap' cheques made headlines in the popular press big enough to thrust very much more important news items into the background. These new bank services are a valuable stimulus to the wider use of personal credit, but they must be seen in proper proportion. Sound and credit-worthy clients of the banks in the past never found great difficulty in obtaining moderate overdrafts, and while under these new schemes the banks may well become a little more venturesome, it is obvious that unless they continue to exercise much the same caution as in the past when considering unsecured, or virtually unsecured, loans, they may well find it sadly easier to lend money than to obtain repayment. In any case these facilities are unlikely to affect to any considerable extent the use of the now well-established form of consumer credit—hire purchase. In spite

of the determined rearguard action of its critics, this form of credit is now firmly established, well organized, and closely linked with the ordinary banking system. It is now, in fact, both solid and respectable! The direct participation of the principal banks in the finance of hire purchase trading ensures all the necessary money and the removal of the restrictions on the terms and conditions of H.P. agreements must lead to a fairly rapid expansion of this type of business—a considerable and quick-acting stimulus to increased consumption.

What has been said so far concerns expansion of the home market. This is clearly essential as an immediate step to bring consumption into balance with present production. It is clear, however, that in this country, above all others, we cannot live by taking in our own washing. Indeed, there is clearly a limit to the amount of our own washing which is likely to be available. During the last ten years the standard of living of the people in this country has risen far beyond anything they knew before the war. Motor-cars, radios, televisions, refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners have ceased to be luxuries, and while there seems in practice to be no such thing as market saturation of consumer goods, we are at best no longer able to find virtually unlimited demand here at home.

Permanent expansion can only be achieved by extending our markets abroad. Clearly, with Germany, Italy, and still the U.S. as active competitors and with the determination in so many of the developed and developing parts of the world to achieve self-sufficiency, the task is formidable. But we should not magnify our difficulties. Germany has had a remarkable recovery, but it has been achieved by working harder for longer hours. There are already signs of tiredness and of labour problems arising such as those we have already faced and are beginning to overcome. Italy's industrial development has been astonishing, but here again there are clearly limits in a country which has to import practically all its raw materials with an economy much weaker than ours and a political system which has not yet recovered from years of dictatorship. The U.S. too have their problems. In many parts of the world—notably in South America, a vast potential consumer—they are not popular, and moreover they see already definite signs that their great customer, Canada, may well begin to look east to this

country rather than across the U.S. border. Many leading industrialists in the States are already establishing themselves here with their eyes on the developing British Commonwealth and the possible European Free Market.

But the world in which we now have to compete and to expand is very different from that of 100 years ago. Places which were then almost inaccessible can now be reached in a few hours. The native pioneer spirit of our merchant venturers, which led them to face the arduous journey into the unknown, no longer gives us the advantage over our rivals which it did when a trip to Central Africa was a major undertaking. It is now a matter of taking a ticket on a plane. Moreover, many of those countries—particularly in the Commonwealth and Empire, where we established and developed the markets on which the expansion of our trade was based—have now themselves reached a point where the dream of industrialization and self-sufficiency can be made a reality.

There are, however, still great areas of the world not yet industrialized with vast populations living at a very low level. These places are a potential market for manufactured goods big enough to take more than all we can make. And trade still follows the flag. We must look first therefore to our own colonies and to the new Commonwealth States of Africa. To make these potential markets actual, we must equip them with the means of using the goods we can supply. We cannot sell vacuum cleaners, radio, or television to people who have no electric power. We cannot open up trade with countries which have no roads, railways, and harbours to ship to us the natural products they can send us or distribute the manufactured goods we offer. We must therefore, to the utmost of our power, supply and finance these basic necessities as we did a century or more ago in so many parts of the world, greatly to our advantage and theirs. Every penny of credit we can spare must go to this first essential, the creation of real markets. Direct organs of the Government like the Colonial Development Corporation must be used to the limit, not in planting ground-nuts where ground-nuts never grew or can't be economically grown, but in building roads and railways to bring to the sea the crops which are rotting in Africa already. But better from every point of view is the provision by the Government of long-term finance to enable our private enterprise heavy engineering and civil engineering industries to give long credits with some real inducement to build

and equip roads, railways, and harbours in, say, Ghana rather than in Brazil or Egypt. Empire preference is far more important in investment than in tariffs.

Investment of this kind, however, cannot provide an immediate market for consumer goods. We have therefore to look also to those countries where basic services are already available. In many cases political and financial reasons and drastic restrictions of imports make it very difficult to obtain worthwhile orders and as a consequence manufacturers find it hard to justify spending money on a close study of future possibilities. In others—e.g. Mexico—the market is surely there. It is almost inexplicable that only an insignificant percentage of Mexico's imports come from this country and yet about a year ago Italy thought it worthwhile to stage in that country a large and elaborate exhibition of Italian goods. For this state of affairs British manufacturers cannot escape their share of criticism. With some conspicuous exceptions, they do not seem to realize the vital importance for the future of obtaining a foothold in markets where conditions offer very little opportunity for immediate trade. Investment in market research and in building up a sales organization is as important as investment in production plant—indeed, it may be a good deal more so. The careful selection of local agents and their nursing and education must take time. And it can only be done by personal contact. It is not sufficient merely to ply them with trade literature, much of which finds its way to the pigeon-hole or the waste-paper basket. It is the subtle compliment of a personal visit to the agent in his own home town which makes him read it and makes him keen to make use of it. In such market research and development, the Commercial Officers at our Embassies and our trade consuls already give a great deal of help. Many of these officials are men of considerable intelligence, ability, and experience. Their potential usefulness, however, is much lessened by two conditions of their service. In the first place, the Foreign Office system of promotion leads to a far too rapid 'turnover' of staff. Three or four years seems to be the normal term of duty of the higher officials. This is surely quite inadequate for even the most brilliant to acquaint himself with the condition and, much more important, the personalities in the country to which he is sent. Our trade ministers, commissioners, and consuls are in fact regularly moved on at the point when they can begin to be really useful and much

of their work is therefore wasted. The general practice of having a semi-permanent Number Two is no real substitute for longer-term employment of the Number One. If the great ability of these officers is to be properly used, this system of frequent transfer must certainly be altered.

A second handicap is the short-sighted parsimony of the Treasury in regard to expense allowances, especially in some countries. If our trade representatives abroad are to do their job properly they must be put in a position to meet on more or less social equality the 'big business' people in the country to which they are accredited. Their salaries are far too small to enable them to return entertainment or even to join the proper golf club or other places where these men forgather, and without such direct contact they can do little more than pick up information which is common property. Certainly they cannot be fully informed of what is happening and, more important still, of what is in contemplation. The fact that many large organizations in this country, and many more in the United States, Germany, and Italy, themselves spend large sums of money on their *own* 'ambassadors' is evidence of the weakness of our present system.

There is one other way in which Government can assist the development of export trade. During the last ten years many important overseas orders have been lost because British manufacturers were unable to give as quick deliveries or to allow as long-term credit as their foreign competitors. The problem of quick delivery has now largely settled itself and order-books have now dropped to a level where we can compete reasonably in most markets. We still lag behind, however, in the provision of long-term credit, which means, of course, long-term credit insurance. The Government organ of credit insurance, the Export Guarantees Department, has now had long experience in vetting the credit-worthiness of overseas buyers and has well-tried 'machinery' for getting the necessary information. This organization must be used to the full, and it will be well worthwhile even taking a measure of risk in some instances if by so doing British exporters can get in front of their competitors. A more businesslike treatment of our overseas trade and consular services such as was suggested above would make the information available to the Export Credits Department both fuller and more reliable and by so much would reduce the risk of error. But, particularly in the case of large items

of capital equipment, clearly we remain under an almost impossible handicap if we cannot offer as long-term credit as others.

Action along the lines suggested above is needed if we are to retain our present share of world markets. Clearly, however, we cannot look for considerable growth in the volume of our exports unless the total volume of world trade can be increased. We must therefore support and indeed initiate any steps which can be taken to this end. It seems certain that the operations of the World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund will be considerably extended in the near future with our support, and the Canadian proposal to establish a separate Commonwealth Development fund must be closely examined. The difficulties inherent in such a proposal are clearly considerable, but if suitable safeguards to secure right priorities and the proper use of such a fund for capital development rather than to meet increases in internal expenditure can be devised, such a fund might give a very great fillip to the expansion of Empire trade and with it the widening of markets for British goods.

In a recent issue of the *Economist* before the Montreal Conference, the position was very clearly summed up as follows:

If the Montreal Conference aims at an expansion of total world trade and discusses ways of promoting Commonwealth participation in it, if it tries to devise some new system of concentrating investment in the Commonwealth on projects that will produce the particular goods for which world demand seems most likely to rise, then it will be a great boon. If it channels greater aid from the richer to the poorer Commonwealth countries, then it may be a wise political initiative. But if it seeks merely to 'liberalize' the present sterling financial system in a way that will provide a readier helping hand to any and all Commonwealth countries which run into exorbitant deficit, then it will be a considerable misfortune.

The expansion of world trade would benefit everyone. We must never tire of emphasizing that in financing and therefore in expanding that trade, sterling has a special, indeed a vital, importance. The fact seems to be increasingly recognized, and if recognition can be translated into action which makes possible a return to the complete convertibility of sterling, then the world will be appreciably nearer to a solution of its economic problems—and many of its political problems as well. It still looks as if 1958 may be the turning-point!

HAROLD WEBBE

BOOK REVIEWS

The Generalship of Alexander the Great. Major-General J. F. C. Fuller, C.B., D.S.O.
Culture and Society, 1780-1950. Raymond Williams.
Garden Design. Sylvia Crowe.
From East to West. Arnold Toynbee, C.H., D.Litt.
Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge. H. C. Porter.
Alfred Lord Milner. Sir John Evelyn Wrench, C.M.G.
The Twilight of Imperial Russia. Richard Charques.
Islam and the Arabs. Rom Landau.
The Long Year. James Wedgwood Drawbell.
Haakon, King of Norway. Maurice Michael.
The Reluctant Politician. W. Gore Allen.
Australian Accent. John Douglas Pringle.

Everyman's Encyclopædia. Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons.
International Who's Who. Europa Publications Ltd.
My Brother and I. William George.
A Doctor in Parliament. Donald Mc.I. Johnson, M.P.
Tristan and Iseult: An Epic Poem in Twelve Books. Florence W. Pomeroy.
The Romantic Assertion, A Study of the Language of 19th Century Poetry. R. A. Foakes.
The Physicist's Conception of Nature. Professor W. Heisenberg.
The Broken Compass: A Study of the Major Comedies of Ben Jonson. Edward B. Partridge.
Christopher Columbus: The Mariner and the Man. Jean Merrien.
Living Zen. Robert Linssen.
The Small German Courts in the 18th Century. Adrien Fauchier-Magnan.

The Generalship of Alexander the Great, by Major-General J. F. C. Fuller (Eyre and Spottiswoode), contributes excellently to the Alexandrian study by isolating the known facts of his wars and presenting them in the context of their history, both before and after their own time. The record of the great campaign, which began with the hero's reign and was barely over when he died, is given succinctly, and the four great battles, the lesser expeditions, sieges, and assaults are there described in detail with excellent plans. The author's reputation as a military historian is well known, and fully justified not only by the main text but by the introductory chapters, which give the reader a clear picture of social and political conditions and the steps by which the great instrument, the Macedonian army, was made ready to the conqueror's hand, tracing it through the reforms of Sicily and Thessaly, to the all-important inventions of Epaminondas and Philip. Equally interesting are the more general chapters, which analyse the quality of Alexander's character and genius, and relate his political ideas and remarkable experiment in partnership with the nations he conquered, to modern theories and failures. 'When the war policies of the Western allies are compared with

those of Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander, will it be said that the democratic statesmen of the twentieth century could not have learnt lessons of inestimable value from the history of the fourth century B.C.?'

FREYA STARK.

Culture and Society, 1780-1950, by Raymond Williams (Chatto and Windus), is concerned with the idea of culture as it has developed during the period, 'culture' being defined as 'right knowing' and 'right doing' and considered throughout in relation to society. It is closely linked with other words—industry, democracy, class, and art, all of which are considered here. Before 1780 culture had meant, primarily, the 'tending of natural growth,' and then, by analogy, a process of human training. But this latter use, which had usually been a culture *of* something, was changed, in the nineteenth century, to *culture* as such, a thing in itself. It came to mean, first, 'a general state or habit of the mind.' Second it came to mean 'the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole.' Third, it came to mean 'the general body of the arts.' Fourth, later in the century, it came to mean 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual.' This culture was enormously affected by the Industrial Revolution. Industry before the period was personal virtue, but afterwards it took the larger meaning of mechanisation and its consequences, the difference being well summed up in the two derivative adjectives 'industrious' and 'industrial.' Mr Williams deals first with Edmund Burke and William Cobbett, Robert Southey and Robert Owen by way of contrasts. He then goes on to Bentham, Coleridge, and Carlyle, and the Industrial Novels, leading on to J. H. Newman and Matthew Arnold. Then we have an interregnum of certain Victorian writers leading to twentieth-century opinions such as those of D. H. Lawrence, R. H. Tawney, and T. S. Eliot; also Marxism and culture; and, finally, that most unpleasing and unreliable person, George Orwell, who, we feel, hardly deserves so much space as is given to him. The history of the idea of culture is a record of our reactions, in thought and feeling, to the changed conditions of our common life. The whole book is very learned and cannot be fully appreciated without concentrated thinking; but it is the result of much study and skill, and in its pages packed with information and useful views drawn from that information it is a really notable work.

Garden Design, by Sylvia Crowe (*Country Life*), is a notable addition to the extensive literature already existing on the subject. Miss Crowe is a real and widely experienced expert and presents her views attractively. She starts with the history of gardens in Egypt and then passes on to the Spanish, Italian, and French gardens, leading up to this country in the past and in the present. Then she goes into the principles of design and its materials, such as plants, water, sculpture and stone work, boundaries, hedges, etc., and ground pattern. After that she deals with specialized gardens, parks, allotments, communal and flat gardens, wild and rock gardens, and school gardens. This shows the wide scope of her work: in fact, everything from Versailles or Blenheim to a suburban plot. She presents some of the problems of gardens. Firstly, are they, as in the case of architectural gardens, extensions of the houses and the informal linking of them to the surrounding country, or are they bringing the country up to the very walls of the house? Is the purpose of a garden to grow plants or is it that plants are just one of the materials used in the creation of a garden? This last point is well illustrated and dealt with by contrasting Hidcote with its, so-to-speak, series of green-hedge-walled compartments, each separate and each filled with appropriate flowers; or Stowe, where the natural or, perhaps, artificially natural country envelops the house and flowers are altogether incidental? The author gives us a useful list of books on the subject and much practical information about plants, shrubs, and trees. The whole is, undoubtedly, a valuable work.

Dr Arnold Toynbee's new book, *From East to West* (Oxford University Press), is a travel book and an account of his journey round the world. It is, claims the jacket, 'for any reader of "A Study of History" . . . a fascinating supplement.' This is perhaps rather much to claim, but it is the account of a traveller who is also an eminent historian. Because of this, it is the meditative passages, rather than the purely descriptive, which are the most interesting. For example, the chapters 'Past and Future in Japan' and 'Religious Outlook in Japan' are a striking analysis of the problems with which the Japanese are struggling. Since the book was originally written as articles for *The Observer*, it is perhaps not surprising that the reader is not offered a connected narrative, but the book would

have gained from some attempt to make it less disjointed. There is too much, too fast. On page 28, for instance, at one moment we are regarding the Amazonian Indian, and are, the next instant, in the middle of a flock of Auckland sheep. There would have been gain, also, in the inclusion of a few illustrations, especially as Mr Toynbee deliberately passes over more familiar places in favour of the lesser known, such as Machu Picchu, Hokkaido, or the Dome of Sultanieh. But it is the mark of a good travel book to make one want to see for oneself, and this Dr Toynbee certainly succeeds in doing.

Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge, by H. C. Porter (Cambridge University Press), is a brilliantly written study of the ecclesiastical history of that university, from the time of Cardinal John Fisher, who went up in 1483, to that of Milton. Cambridge could be said to be at the heart of the reforming movement, and Dr Porter's story is a microcosm of Protestantism in England. Indeed, not of Protestantism alone, for the very fact that such diverse men as Parker, Erasmus, Cartwright, Fisher, More, Crashaw, Grindal, and Andrewes were all at Cambridge as dons or undergraduates shows the hotbed of theological thought that the university was. Dr Porter points out that five Cambridge Chancellors were to die on the scaffold, that twenty-five of the men who were up in the 1520's were burnt between 1531 and 1558, and that about a fifth of the Marian exiles were Cambridge men. In its original form the book won the Cranmer prize of 1952, a prize given for an essay 'which shall relate to the intention and result of the changes in doctrine, organization and ritual within the Church of England between 1500 and 1700.' It is fitting, therefore, that it should be divided into three sections, the first two mainly purely historical: the Cambridge of Henry, Edward and Mary; the Cambridge of Elizabeth and James; and the third, 'The Universe of Grace,' very largely theological. Dr Porter shows the changeover from the mediæval university, the coming of the New Learning, the impact of the statutes of 1570, and the interaction of Puritanism with the emigration to the New World. Probably the most fascinating section is that on the 'godly pastors,' and it is the last third of the book which is the most original. He has not perhaps said enough about the decline in numbers during the 1540's; the continuing

factionousness of the combatants is perhaps wearing; but he has succeeded in writing a book that is both readable and scholarly, a rare achievement indeed.

Alfred Lord Milner, by John Evelyn Wrench (Eyre and Spottiswoode), is sub-titled 'The Man of No Illusions,' which was Sir Winston Churchill's description of him. If this means that he thoroughly understood human nature and the behaviour of mankind under difficulties, and was not easily taken in, that is correct; but it does not mean that he was without visions even though all of them did not materialize. As the son of an impoverished half-German, half-English doctor he spent his early years in Germany, and certainly had no material advantages on which to build his career, which was to lead to High Commissioner and Governor in South Africa, Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, Secretary of State, member of the War Cabinet, Knight of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath and St Michael and St George, and the holder of many other honours, and, just when he was dying, the Chancellorship of Oxford University. Surely a splendid career for anyone and entirely the result of his own great character and abilities. His chance came when he got a scholarship at Balliol and gained almost all the honours that Oxford could give, and that led to Private Secretaryship to Lord Goschen when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer and opened a new world and put him in touch with many influential people, and the further stages of his career followed in due course. Yet, as Sir Evelyn Wrench says: 'One of the chief enigmas of Milner's life is, I think, how it could be that one who had a genius for friendship and captured the imagination of so many of my generation never really succeeded in putting over his personality with the general public.' He certainly had many friends, but he never became a really popular figure except for a short time during his High Commissionership in South Africa. The way that the Liberal Government treated him after his return from that country was enough to embitter anyone, although he was never really that. He had a passion for the unity of the Empire and to that he gave his life. He was a truly great Imperialist in the very best sense. Sir Evelyn Wrench gives much new information and, incidentally, finds considerable opportunity for bringing

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in his own personal reminiscences. It will be for readers to decide whether he has altogether fulfilled his purpose in giving a complete portrait of Milner. At any rate, the book is very well worth reading.

Reading *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, by Richard Charques (Phoenix House), prompts the question whether in all history any monarchy or government persisted to the same extent over many years in taking the road to perdition and their own ruin. As the author says: 'As a human being Nicholas II is not specially interesting. A negative character, commonplace in mind, weak of will and fatalistic in temperament, he was thrust into the blinding light of great events and is saved from complete insignificance only by the macabre pathos of his end. But as Tsar and autocrat he remains a key figure in the events of his reign.' It is true that he succeeded to a position which would have taxed the ability of a far greater man. A police state riddled with revolution underground, which regularly erupted, as in the disastrous year of 1905, when the defeats by Japan brought about the conditions which caused the rioting and bloodshed in Russia. Nicholas, irresolute in most matters, was obstinate in his convictions about the sacred nature of his autocracy and in this he was fully supported by his possibly well-meaning but actually disastrous Empress, who really was a pathological case. After a survey of the state of Russia when Nicholas succeeded, the author shows us the conditions in the country, the industrial proletariat, the war, and then the Duma and what he calls a Demi-Semi-Constitutional Monarchy, which meant that the Tsar gave a constitution which he never intended should really work, and successive Dumas behaved with a tactlessness and lack of appreciation of the genuine position which was truly startling. For a few years before the First World War there seemed to be a lull in industrial upheaval, but all came to a head in the war with the gross inefficiency of generalship and confusion of supplies both for the Army and for the living of the people at home. On top of that came Rasputin and defeat and dissolution, and the tragic end which, looking back now, seems absolutely inevitable with the characters of those who played the chief part. Mr Charques tells the story of the tragic years clearly and concisely, and though there are already many books on Russia this certainly deserves study.

Islam and the Arabs, by Rom Landau, Professor of Islamic and North African Studies, College of the Pacific, California (George Allen and Unwin), is designed primarily for the general reader, but is also for university students, and it covers all the more important aspects of Islamic history and culture. We are shown Arabia before Muhammad and also during his time; then the Caliphate to the End of the Ottomans. We then turn to the Crusades, which, as Professor Landau points out, by failing to provide a united front against the real threat that came from the Mongol East, served only to divide the world into two hostile spheres. The tragic division initiated by the Crusades persists to the present day, preventing a healthy cultural and political fusion of the Western and Arab civilizations. Then we go to the Maghreb, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Muslim Spain. After that there are chapters on the Sharia, which is the Muslim system of law, philosophy, the sciences, literature, and the arts. Another learned author has claimed that science is the most momentous contribution of Arab civilization to the modern world. The Greeks systematized, generalized, and theorized, but investigation, accumulation of positive knowledge, minute methods of science, and prolonged observation were alien to the Greek temperament. It is a curious fact too that appreciation of Greek literature came to Western Europe, which had hitherto neglected it, through the Arabs who were captured by it and bought and translated all manuscripts and other material available, which thus through them was passed back to Europe. In dealing with the modern position of Islam, especially in Morocco and Syria, Professor Landau shows only too clearly his strong anti-French bias. He speaks with authority, but all will not agree with him. He also presents in concise form many of the other serious problems which cause conflict between Islam and the West now. The different parts of the book are embellished by very useful chronological tables, and there is an excellent and helpful bibliography.

The Long Year, by James Wedgwood Drawbell (Wingate), is best described by a paragraph on page 9: 'Much of this diary could have been set down by anyone, for the experiences and the emotions were common to millions. It is full of the trivial and the important, the dull and the exciting; the things we did and said,

the impatience we felt, the angers we expressed, the misjudgments we made, the mistakes we tolerated, the jokes we laughed at, the books we read and the plays we saw.' The author, then editor of the popular *Sunday Chronicle*, had special facilities for getting information and with his wide experience of Fleet Street came in touch with many well-known people. In his references to some of them we suggest that his attitude is perhaps somewhat critically superior. The year concerned is from the beginning of September 1939 to October 5, 1940—of course a fateful year, but only one of five, which rather limits the scope and interest of the work, but the record and impressions of a highly skilled journalist at such a time, even though they do contain much that is personal and somewhat trivial, do give the general atmosphere of the period and, therefore, are worth reading, and have more permanent value.

Haakon, King of Norway, by Maurice Michael (George Allen and Unwin), is a well-deserved tribute to a very remarkable man. Undoubtedly he had great ability, many virtues, great wisdom, and a very high character; but possibly readers will wonder whether he can have been so unblemished as Mr Michael makes him out and yet remain human. Perhaps that is a carping criticism. The first seventy-five pages describe the painful procedure over the separation of Sweden and Norway in 1905 and the complicated negotiations over the election of a King. Also, the triumphant choice of Prince Charles of Denmark at the end; and certainly no choice has ever been more abundantly justified. Then we are told about his earlier life as a seafaring Prince of Denmark and his marriage to an English princess. Then we come to the reign and the problems it set, leading to the First World War when Norway's difficulties were very great in preserving neutrality; but the difficulties were as nothing to the Second World War which the King faced so valiantly, especially when he was hunted from place to place by the Germans who were determined to take him alive or dead. Luckily, they failed. During all those days the King was much more than a symbol: he, as a person, was the very spirit of Norway's resistance, he incorporated the people's hopes of ever being free and independent again. It was to him that the many came who crossed from Norway to Scotland, often in open boats. They came to join their King, not the Government. Though he had political difficulties,

especially with Communists, to deal with in his country, the affection of his people grew steadily and, at the end, he was truly beloved, and rightly so. This is a plain, clear, and unpretentious biography.

Writing the life of a person still alive is a doubtful adventure. Firstly the subject, unless his career is obviously ended, may find new ideas and experiences which do not tally with his earlier years, and secondly it is difficult for the biographer to be really outspoken and judicial lest he should hurt the feelings of his hero. W. Gore Allen's biography of Derick Heathcoat Amory, under the title of *The Reluctant Politician* (Christopher Johnson), suffers from these handicaps. Mr Amory's career is very far from finished and his future may be even more successful than his past. As to a judicial summing-up of character, Mr Amory cannot be hurt but he certainly may be embarrassed as his biographer makes him out such a model of all the virtues and so impeccable as to be hardly human. He is undoubtedly a statesman, a very good sportsman, an able administrator, an embodiment of the New Conservatism with high ideals and with a successful business career behind him. He is a strong believer in Co-partnership and encouragement of enterprise in the young. In thirteen years he has risen from being a new M.P. to Chancellor of the Exchequer—a notable achievement. Mr Allen gives a faithful and straightforward record of his hero.

Australian Accent, by John Douglas Pringle (Chatto and Windus), is an attempt to analyse the Australian scene by one who, though a Scotsman, edited *The Sydney Morning Herald* for five years. It is an analysis not of the Outback country but of the cities and of politics. Mr Pringle seems to have that ambivalence of outlook typical of many who have lived in Australia; he loves the country, but does not very much like the inhabitants or their way of life. His criticism of Mr Menzies and of Dr Evatt is harsh and personal, and he hardly has a good word to say about Australian women. If this bitterness can be overlooked, it is, however, a fascinating book, revealing to the English reader an Australia all too unfamiliar to him. The author investigates the character of the migrant, and tries to find out why, and in what way, the Australian is an Australian, instead of just being an Englishman transplanted.

The truth is, of course, that on the whole only a minority have an English, as opposed to British, ancestry. The book deals with 'the sub-urban civilization of the coastal fringe,' and, since the majority of the country live in that area, it is therefore about the things that affect most Australians. Perhaps one of the most interesting chapters is that on Australian culture; writes Mr Pringle: 'there is a universal conviction that art is somehow a social activity not an intellectual one' (p. 137). The picture drawn is not a wholly attractive one, and it is perhaps easy to see why so many English emigrants are not successful at adapting themselves. It is, also, one feels, a rather one-sided one, but it is an interesting account of part of the life of a great nation.

Intelligent readers and writers must willingly express their gratitude to Messrs J. M. Dent and Sons for that most remarkable work *Everyman's Encyclopædia*, three more volumes of which, bringing the number up to eight and reaching MUN in the text, have lately appeared. The volumes contain between 750 and 800 pages each, double column, and in the complete work there will be about 9,000,000 words and about 50,000 articles. The whole work has been reset in this latest edition and statistical matter brought up to date. History, biography, theology, science, topography, technology, culture, both practical and theoretical, all find their places here. These volumes are a storehouse of knowledge presented in most compact and convenient form and fortunate are the people who can have it on their shelf for constant reference.

[Since the above was written the final volumes have appeared, ending with Zyryanovsk of which very few of the many thousands of readers can presumably ever have heard. These last volumes fully maintain the high standard of the earlier ones and the whole work must be a highly prized possession for anyone, and a constant help and mine of information. Thank you, Messrs. Dent.]

The 22nd edition of *The International Who's Who*, covering the year 1958 and issued by Europa Publications Ltd., carries on the high standard of its predecessors and is even more complete. The editors keep daily records of changes to existing entries and also make continuous search for suitable new names. The whole runs to 1,050 large double-column pages and includes the really great,

the great, and to some extent the not so great of five continents. Thus two pages taken at random include a Swede, a Philippino, an Argentinian, a Spaniard, a Frenchman, an American, a Canadian, a Portuguese, and an Englishman. That is a range of information wider than we know in any other volume and the work obviously is of great value and interest to all readers and students of present-day life in public service, industry, the armed forces, art, literature, politics, and human endeavour of all kinds.

My Brother and I, by William George (Eyre and Spottiswoode), would be a notable achievement for any writer. It is specially so for a nonagenarian. It fills a useful place in a now considerable literature on David Lloyd George, and Dr William George is very well qualified to write not only with his life-long intimate knowledge of his subject but also because of the almost daily correspondence that the brothers carried on for nearly thirty years, and Lloyd George's intimate personal diaries, which Dr George possesses, are used freely. It is a story of a Welsh boy, and an orphan at that, with no early education other than that provided by a village school, who, by dint of his almost unaided efforts, rose to the highest post in the land. Moreover, in the course of achieving this feat, he promoted legislation which laid the foundations of what has since become known as the Welfare State. Lloyd George was undoubtedly a very remarkable man, with great energy, charm, ambition, prejudices, ruthlessness and often spitefulness against those who stood in his way. His career would certainly have appealed to Samuel Smiles as self-help; but it was not always too easy for the younger brother to keep his own individuality when overshadowed by so tempestuous and dominating a character as David. The intimacy of the earlier years seems to have rather lessened in the later ones after Lloyd George's fall from office. As the author says, 'a sense of power once enjoyed is not easily cast aside when the emergency which occasioned it has passed,' and certainly Lloyd George found it very difficult to give up control: hence what was almost a scandal over the Lloyd George Fund. In some ways the most remarkable character in the book is the uncle, Richard Lloyd, who was both a shoemaker and a nonconformist pastor, a stern and upright but outstanding character to whom both the brothers owed much. As the author says: 'To Dafydd life was

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a battle, and he was never happy unless he had somebody or something to fight.' Dr George throws some light on some rifts within the family which occurred in later years and about which people have wondered.

A Doctor in Parliament, by Donald Mc.I Johnson (Christopher Johnson), gives a good mixed grill ranging from the feelings and experiences of a new M.P. to doctors on the dole, the Suez Crisis, State and State pubs, to the subject which one expects to meet in Dr Johnson's works, namely, the Lunacy Laws and the treatment of people in asylums. To this he gives most of the book. He is well known as an untiring and devoted crusader for the mentally afflicted, and in view of the facts that he gives, namely, that 20,000 people every year are sent into asylums against their will, and on the evidence of only one doctor, there certainly does seem to be much that ought to be amended. Some of the cases that he quotes and the circumstances of which he knows personally are indeed distressing. He quotes what he has said in Parliament and the official answers, and it is for the readers to say which they think the most convincing. Certainly, whether Dr Johnson has always been wise in the way of carrying on his crusade or not, what he writes should be read and studied. He ends with an all-out attack on bureaucracy in Government offices and among Ministers, and undoubtedly many will have hearty sympathy with this.

It is a commonplace to say that the poetic epic is now dead. But final literary pronouncements of this kind will always be disproved by the genius. What is more probably true is that a present-day epic written in the style of past ages will never come to life. *Tristan and Iseult: An Epic Poem in Twelve Books*, by Florence W. Pomeroy (Bodley Head), does keep a remarkable standard of consistency, but the idiom is a derivative one and the old tale makes its way through all the trappings of outmoded poeticisms and at times in a curious debased Miltonic style:

'Through all his slack'ning intervolvéd folds
The reptile writhéd. From the jagged wound
Jettéd coagulate gore whereof the stench
Like exhalation from the Augean stalls,
Befouled the summer air.'

It is written in iambic pentameter, but the metre is far too often padded out with stressed adjectives as if the author had read far too much in the old sagas. This all has the reverse effect from that intended. Instead of creating a period atmosphere, it destroys it by making the poem seem archaic. It is a pity that Miss Pomeroy did not write in a modern idiom, for she handles her tale well and is not afraid of working on a big scale.

There has recently grown up a large body of poetic criticism that is in danger of leaving behind for the non-intellectual reader nothing but the poor, bloody dissected corpse of poetry itself. It is a highly questionable practice of criticism to use as a jumping-off ground the ideas or theories contained in other pieces of critical writing. If literary criticism, and by this is meant appreciation and interpretation, cannot be inspired by the subject itself, it is a curious hybrid thing, and, at the worst, displays the absurdity of poetry being put in its place by the non-poetic. These thoughts were prompted by *The Romantic Assertion, A Study of the Language of 19th Century Poetry*, by R. A. Foakes (Methuen), which essays to apply to nineteenth-century poetry what the blurb describes as 'one of the great discoveries of Twentieth-Century criticism has been analysis of metaphor and imagery.' Mr Foakes' book cannot be said to contribute much elucidation. It is not easy to follow his argument because he does not handle his material with much clarity; and he takes up far too much space merely providing a running commentary on the poems under discussion—a thing which any interested reader can do for himself. One is prompted to ask, in view of the cold objectivity of the approach to such a sensuous thing as romantic poetry, if an academic dissecting table is the proper place for beauty—whether of language or anything else. Semantics are one thing; analyses of a writer's language as a key to that writer are another. This is not to dismiss Mr Foakes' ideas and his main thesis. But he clouds his exposition of them in a mode of expression that would suit the rostrum but is extraordinarily difficult to follow as an argued line of thought in a book. While his book will probably have some appeal to academic readers, it will be a disappointment to all poetry lovers who expect at least some appreciation of the grand creative techniques of the Romantics and of the intoxication and joy of poetry itself.

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Could anyone who reads Professor W. Heisenberg's *The Physicist's Conception of Nature* (Hutchinson) remain unmoved by it? It is surely one of the clearest and yet most significant books about the whole process of Western science that has so far appeared. And it does not only set forth the facts, but has an enlivening quality of starting off questions in all directions. Starting with the changing ideas in history of the meaning of nature, the author shows the growth of the nineteenth-century concept of materialism. From this concept has arisen the vast machinery of modern technology, based at first upon mechanical processes but with two major revolutions at the first application of electro-technics and later of atomic processes. The whole development has reached such a stage that no longer do we, nor the things we produce, belong to nature. Man confronts himself alone. In science the object is no longer nature itself, but man's investigation of nature. Despite the continuous advance of techniques science only reaches final solutions in limited domains and we realize that scientific 'laws' have a limited application. Awareness of this limitation frees us from complete bondage to determinism, and the development of atomic physics has necessitated the recognition of uncertainty in the scientific picture and the adoption of a statistical basis for laws depending upon incomplete knowledge. In the world of very small particles with which present-day physics is concerned our usual conceptions of 'before and after' vanish. Professor Heisenberg goes on to point the dangers of our present position and to plead for the merits of a classical education as a means to preserve the spiritual values which were essential to the Greek world-picture. The passage in which he describes his first understanding of the Greek method of applying mathematical principles to everyday life and his discussion of the fundamental importance of such an outlook are equally striking. The third part of the book, consisting of extracts from the historical sources the author has drawn upon, enables the reader to follow the process of thought for himself and will incidentally probably introduce him for the first time to several remarkable minds of the past.

The recent spate of literary analysis issued with a certain academic pomp makes it more and more obvious that there can

be no common meeting ground between the reader whose enjoyment comes from the appreciation and understanding of operative face values, and the more intellectual analyst to whom the surface is something only to be scratched (and torn to shreds) for the hidden meaning—the latter often assuming an absolute pontificate which seems to leave the poor author very much in the rear. *The Broken Compass: A Study of the Major Comedies of Ben Jonson*, by Edward B. Partridge (Chatto and Windus), intellectualizes the dramatist to such a point of super-consciousness that one begins to disbelieve in spite of an admirable display of first-class analytical ideas. It should be said in fairness that it is a book for the literary student. The general reader hoping for help in recognizing the salient points of Jonson's work will soon be so submerged in a welter of intensive interpretation that the conclusion he will probably rush to is that Jonson's plays are far too high-brow and metaphysically significant for him—and that is a bad thing, and a thing at which the charge can justifiably be levelled that bad service is done to literature by such interpretive documentation. And yet in his Preface Professor Partridge seems fully aware of the dangers of what he is doing: 'Of course linguistic critics are not the only ones who rack words. Actually, like many crimes, such painful interpretation has had a most respectable history'; and 'It is still an error, no matter how fashionable it has now become, to flee from the obvious and the rational as though it were contaminated.' Yet he cannot be absolved of sometimes falling into these errors himself. His authority and knowledge of Jonson are unquestioned, but his book will only be really appreciated by fellow Jonsonians on the same obsessed plane.

The most provocative thing about *Christopher Columbus: The Mariner and the Man* by Jean Merrien, translated from the French by Maurice Michael (Odhams Press), is the author's intriguing theory of who Columbus really was. The mystery has always been admitted by historians, but it has been generally agreed that he was Genoese. M. Merrien disagrees with this and by a fascinating line of reasoning connects Columbus with the corsair admiral of the King of France, Guillaume de Casenove-Coulon. But this establishing of his origins is only a small part of a book which is a most compelling history not only of the great mariner but of his

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kindred band of navigators, straining on the many shores of Europe for the excitements, dangers, and wealth of a New World suddenly made a fact. The historical background of courts and countries and land-bound people is also strongly authenticated. M. Merrien writes with a most vivid and perpetually engaging pen. His familiarity with the period seems almost contemporary with it and yet his historical intelligence has the perspective of all the accumulated evidence. Columbus is revealed at full length, in full dress or *deshabillé*, but always with the maximum authenticity. He is also shown as an amazing sailor to whom the waters of the world were a challenge. He was not just a navigator handling his ship safely in charted waters but a voyager who set his prow to the unknown West fearlessly and, in spite of every hazard, did not turn back. Could he, challenges M. Merrien, have been the son of a labouring Genoese weaver with only a few months of 'amateur' training at sea, and yet have the courage to do that? It is a book most worth reading.

Most Englishmen would probably dismiss the 'Wisdom of the East' with a shrug and say it was none of *their* business, rather something to be left to orientlists and cranks. *Living Zen*, by Robert Linssen (Allen and Unwin), should do much to redress the balance. Perhaps due to insufficient adaptation of Eastern classics when they were first brought to the West and also to sensational tales by superficial travellers, the West has for long thought of oriental spirituality as inseparably tied to a cross-legged posture somewhere deep in a jungle. Recently Zen has been speaking to thousands in the West who, failing to find the heart of the Gospels, have sought another universal way of life applicable as a standard to even the smallest sphere of everyday experience. To such it will come as a joy and a relief to read passages like the following: 'Knowledge of ourselves—without which no Satori ("enlightenment") is possible—requires a lucidity of every moment, not only in our moments of solitude but *above all when we are in contact with others.*' 'The process of relationship is the process of life.' Or again: 'Correct meditation—an essential basis of Buddhism—is a lucidity of every instant in the course of which are revealed our emotional and mental reactions, our cravings, our susceptibilities, attachments, our sensuality and violence *in our relations with*

others.' It is impossible to distil the essence of this truly remarkable book into a few lines, but thought-provoking chapters throw new light from the Buddhist point of view upon Natural Science and Christianity. Sufficient to say that it will be of interest to anyone who is concerned in the slightest degree with the interpretation of the world as we see it, or in the working out on any scale of satisfactory human relations.

The Small German Courts in the 18th Century, by Adrien Fauchier-Magnan, translated by Mervyn Savill (Methuen), gives an interesting and convincing picture of Germany of the period, but one that is altogether disgusting as far as habits and customs are concerned from our point of view. The Thirty Years War swept over the country like a cyclone and left it in complete chaos and pulverized into a dust of little principalities of which there were about 2,000 distinct territories, some only two or three leagues in area. This devastation gave a remarkable opportunity for penetration of French elegance, as shown in the reign of Louis XIV, but it was not only French elegance but French immoralities that often spread in, though, indeed, they were there before. The French veneer affected only the upper classes and certainly did not conduce to cleanliness or sanitation (though indeed France had very little of that either). Even the wife of Frederick the Great was said by her sister-in-law to stink, and that was typical of many! The first part of the book deals with the States as a whole, and from page 125 on we are shown the Duchy of Württemberg, especially under the reign of Karl-Eugen, who was a remarkable character and whose extravagances, especially in building, almost ruined his state! Finally, we are given an account of Montbéliard, which belonged to a junior branch of the Württemberg House. The author has gleaned an immense amount of information about the courts and he passes this on to his readers well, though the pages are over-loaded with footnotes to an exasperating degree. However, the book is well worth reading.

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